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THE SITUATION, OR WHAT I FIND IN VIRGINIA.

LETTER FROM REV. CALVIN FAIRBANKS.

NORFOLK, VA., December, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SINCE the November election a most decided change has occurred in this section of the Union. At any rate furnishing another illustration of the adage, "straws show which way the wind blows." There is a popular *galvanized loyalty* prevailing in the Southern States. Especially is this true in the vicinity of power in arms—at such points as this and Richmond.

Coming down the Chesapeake on Saturday night, the 12th inst., a lively debate sprang up in which a young man from Bashing Ridge, N. J., by the name of James L. Stevens, led off in a well arranged, and well aimed attack upon Rebellion and rebels now under cover of loyalty. Each man stated his position. I declared myself a Massachusetts radical, and was applauded, not for my radicalism, but my frankness. A Virginian was heard to say over and over, "I'm robbed of my property. I owe no allegiance to the United States. She aint my country." Then again, "Our State is kept out in the cold. It's d—d oppression!" I asked, "Mr, did you not say 'I owe no allegiance to the flag?' Do you expect recognition then?" "Sir," said he "I'm defeated," and give it up. There was a frankness in surrendering a point which elicited my admiration.

SITUATION AT NORFOLK.

The old citizens treat Northern people—teachers, and business men and their families, with *negative courtesy.* A few attend the Sunday School and the meetings held in the new church—the Union Tabernacle just finished, and seem to witness, and to some extent enter into the service inquiringly, and earnestly. There are no people of color attending either the school or church service. I am unable to account for it further than its Superintendant, Mr. H. C. Percy (I mean the Superintendant of the Sunday School) informed me that they do not want to attend.

There has been a decided abatement of interest in the new situation, with the people of color since, March, 1865, though many hold on with an unyielding grasp to all the benefits accruing from their freedom.

This results, 1.—Mainly from its familiarity—it is an old story.

2.—From the abandonment of the work by other associations than the American Missionary Association which still holds its ground.

3.—From the establishment of private schools in the city. I think the first two causes prevail. None of the many schools that were in active work in 1865—in the country—on the farms, are now in existence.

Wise's farm is used as a Poor Farm. So Taylor's, I think; and the people crowd into Norfolk with but little to do.

SCHOOLS.

There are now three schools with five hundred pupils which employ eight teachers; two from Massachusetts five from New York, and one from Newry, Ireland, between Dublin and Belfast. This is Miss Kildare, who has also filled the office of Commissary for the last year, looking into the needs of applicants, and giving certificates for shoes, clothing, etc., Then there is not half the interest manifested here in the School enterprise that there was four years ago. Then, if men and women were on the street, they were either on their way to work or school; and very few boys and girls could be found loitering about the street.

Now, men, women and children swarm in the streets unemployed and poor. One reason for this change is the fact that then military law ruled, now the civil law. All this might have been avoided by accepting Mr. Stevens' confiscation proposition four years ago, and giving proper support to the helpless by

THE BUREAU,

which, there are indications will now begin to retrench at the peril of hundreds of destitute children, and many old and helpless people. The last rations are issued, and they are referred to the almshouse. I *do not know* what this people are to do. There is little employment, at low wages. There is a great want of industry and economy among them, except in the country—on the farms where there is a good deal of thrift.

FINANCE—FREEDMEN'S BANK.

The bank here exhibits a good bill of health, showing fidelity on the part of its officers, and industry and thrift upon the part of many of the freedmen. It was opened in 1865—has now, 1869, accounts, and holds $49, 409.67 of depositor's money.

Of these accounts, 7 have each a balance of $1,000.
" " 14 " " " $500.
" " 26 " " " $800.
" " 80 " " " $100.

Over sixty Societies have together about $10,000.

The deposits in the several banks of New York and Norfolk show a great deficiency in the former, as compared with the latter, viz. in October last there were in New York, Deposits, 4,625.39. Drafts, 4,020.19. Balance, ... $23,126,95.

Norfolk, Deposits, 9,141,61. Drafts, 8,520,81. Balance, ... $46,281.05.

A list of all the banks show a decided success; that of Washington stands first. viz:

Financial Statement of the National Freedman's Savings and Trust Company for the month of October, 1868. Principal office, 19th street and Pennsylvania avenue Washington D. C.

Cashier.	*Deposits.*	*Drafts.*	*Amount Due Depositors.*
Augusta, Georgia . David A. Ritter, Act. Cashier,	$2,605.25	$1,296.20	$13,598.42
Baltimore, Md. . . . Samuel Townsend,	14,998.74	15,052.29	75,367.61
Beaufort, S. C. . . . N. R. Scovel	42,463.22	38,893.47	83,597.90
Charleston, S. C. . . . Nathan Ritter	39,854.85	38,325.27	71,741.83
Huntsville, Ala. . . . L. Robinson	2,642.09	2,614.81	9,122.12
Jacksonville, Fla. . . W. L. Coan, Acting,	21,690.12	21,209.38	21,469.17
Louisville, Ky. . . . H. H. Burkholder,	13,906.33	10,068.51	68,532.08
Martinsburg, Va. . . . Wm. H. Matthews,	416.70	30.75	692.15
Memphis, Tenn. . . . A. M. Sperry	5,425.45	6,382.87	25,950.73
Mobile, Ala. . . . C. A. Woodward,	3,815.83	5,488.11	36,449.86
Nashville, Tenn. . . . John J. Cary	4,193.51	4,455.34	43,974.77
Newbern, N. C. . . . C. A. Nelson	3,734.96	3,824.24	22,771.48
New Orleans, La. . . . C. S. Sauvinet	6,719.13	6,699.58	57,116.26
New York city . . . . John J. Zuille	4,623.39	4,020.19	23,126.95
Norfolk, Va. . . . H. C. Percy	9,141.61	8,520.81	46,281.05
Raleigh, N. C. . . . G. Brodie	1,822.71	2,730.68	6,509.50
Richmond, Va. . . . Charles Spencer	3,707.96	2,172.43	18,732.76
Savannah, Ga. . . . I. Brinkerhoff	10,626.21	10,703.77	43,196.78
St. Louis, Mo. . . . Willis N. Brent	2,480.09	2,098.19	6,308.22
Tallahassee, Fla. . . . F. W. Webster	8,612.63	7,358.02	13,610.82
Vicksburg, Miss. . . . Benj. A. Lee	92,231.52	73,452.96	82,903.81
Washington D. C. . . . W. J. Wilson	49,186.53	41,986.18	118,452.25
Wilmington, N. C. . . . R. R. Hunt, Asst. Insp'r. Act. Cashier	1,574.06	696.48	4,854.11
	$346,461.89	$303,083.53	$895,953.73

Total amount of deposits for the month $346,461.89
Total amount of drafts for the month 308,083,53

Excess of deposits over drafts $38,378.36

Total deposits $5,869,045.76
Total drafts 4,973,092.03

Total amount due 8,850 depositors $895,953.73

The bank here is constantly thronged by the freedmen to deposit or draw.

SAND BANK DEPOSITS.

Not unfrequently freedmen come in bringing in from $50—to $1,100—which had been kept in sand banks, and cellars, and hollow logs, etc., for from five to twenty years. Here is a case:

An old man, Mr. James C——, who lives about four miles from the city, who for some time has been inquiring about the Bank, came in on Saturday last saying he had "persuaded himself to try the new Bank." He had been keeping his careful savings hid away in various places, but having lost a good deal through robbers, had at last thought best to ease his mind in his old age. On producing his bank, which was tied up in a clumsy bundle, we found a rough board box about a foot long and six inches wide, strongly nailed together, which he had himself made over twenty years ago for the purpose. This box was full of *gold and silver coin!* and on counting we found there were *eleven hundred and sixty seven dollars!* ($1,167). This he deposited, and now holds the heaviest bank book we have issued.

Mr. C. said he had the most of this money twelve years ago. If so, and he had then deposited the money in bank, he would now have had nearly ($3,000) three thousand dollars!

This man is doubtless but one of many, if we could find them out, who have large deposits in "Sand Banks."

There seems to be a strange union of truth and lies—of loyalty and disloyality that shocks nobody here. Freedom of speech and rebel flags both tolerated. There is this minute a rebel flag—a white ground with red stripes crossing each other in its centre, flying in view of any who will take the trouble to look.

Still all profess to accept the situation.

The congregations here are greatly made up of seedy old men, gay misses, and widows in black. I never saw so many women in black. I like industry and enterprise can alone redeem this Sodom and make it delightful. It has a mild climate, the best harbor, a good agricultural district to support it, and easy access to large markets.

Yours truly,

CALVIN FAIRBANK.

SPAIN.

ADDRESS OF VICTOR HUGO ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

FROM several points in Spain, from Corrunna through the organ of the Democratic Committee, from Ovideo, from Seville, from Barcelona; from Saragossa, the patriotic city; from Cadiz the revolutionary city; from Madrid, by the generous voice of Emilio Cantelar, a second appeal is made to me. They interrogate me. I respond.

What is the question? It is Slavery.

Shall Spain, who by one single effort has rid herself of all the old opprobrious evils of fanaticism, absolutism, divine right, capital punishment, still preserve that which is more odious than them all—Slavery? I say No. Abolition, and immediate abolition, is her duty.

Is it possible that there can be any hesitation? What! that which England did in 1838, that which France did in 1848, Spain not able to do in 1868! What! to be a liberated nation and to have under its feet an enslaved and fettered race! What! this contradiction—to be at home the light, and abroad darkness; at home justice, and abroad unrighteousness; citizen here, owner of slave there; to make a revolution that shall have a glorious side and a side of shame! What! after expelling royalty, to allow slavery to remain! to hold property in your fellow men! to have upon your head the cap of liberty for yourself, and in your hand a chain for him! The planter's whip is simply the ungilded scepter of the king; the one broken, the other falls.

A monarchy with Slaves is logical; a Republic with Slaves is unbecoming. That which adds to the Monarchy dishonors the Republic. The Republic is a virginity.

At present, without waiting for any vote, you are a republic. Why? Because you are the great Spanish nation. You are a republic; democratic Europe accepts you as such. Oh Spaniards! You can continue to be great only on the condition of remaining free. To retreat is impossible. To grow stronger is according to nature; to become weaker—no!

You will remain free. Now, Liberty is a whole. She has a gloomy jealousy of her grandeur and her purity. No compromise. No concession. No falling off. She repudiates Royalty at the top and Slavery at the bottom.

To hold slaves is to deserve to be a slave. The slave below you would justify the tyrant above you.

The year 1768 was a frightful year in the history of the slave trade. In that year the maximum of the crime was reached. Europe stole from Africa 104,000 blacks, whom she sold to America. One hundred and four thousand! Never has the sale of human flesh shown such shocking figures. It is now just one hundred years since then. Well, celebrate the centenary by the abolition of Slavery; let a year of glory answer to a year of infamy, and show that between the Spain of 1768 and the Spain of 1868 there is more than a century—a profound abyss separating the false from the true, the bad from the good, the unjust from the just, debasement from glory, monarchy from the Republic, servitude from liberty. There is always an open precipice behind progress, and those who draw back will certainly fall into it. A people increases with every man it enfranchises. Be great Spain in its completeness. Gibraltar is more necessary to you than Cuba.

One word more. Alike profoundly evil in themselves, slavery and despotism meet each other, and produce the same effect. The yoke of Slavery presses perhaps more upon the master than upon the slave. It is a question which of the two owns the other? It is an error to believe that one is the proprietor of a man when you can buy him or sell him. On the contrary, one is his prisoner; he holds you. You must partake of his rudeness, his vulgarity, his ignorance, his savageness; otherwise you would look with horror upon yourself.

The Black, you believe, belongs to you; it is you who belong to him. You have laid hold of his body; he has seized your intelligence and your honor. He has established between you and him a mysterious level. The slave chastises you for being his master. By sad and just retaliations, you are placed in the power of a stern ruler, not having any conscience. His vices are your crimes; his misfortunes become catastrophes to you. A slave in a house is an evil spirit that is not only with you but within you. It enters into you and darkens your soul. Ah! we cannot commit with impunity the great crime of slavery.

The denial of fraternity would be fatal. If you are a glorious and illustrious people, Slavery accepted as an institution makes you abominable. The crown on the brow of a despot, and the ring around the neck of the slave, are but the same circle confining your energies as a people. All your splendors have the blot—the negro. The slave throws his shadows upon you. You would not impart civilization to him, and he has communicated barbarism to you. Through slavery Europe has inoculated itself with Africa.

Oh noble Spanish people! Here is a second liberation for you. You have delivered yourselves from despotism; now deliver yourselves from slavery. VICTOR HUGO.

HAUTEVILLE HOUSE, Nov. 22nd. 1868.

SLAVERY IN THE PACIFIC.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

ABOUT the time when Slavery was abolished in the Southern States of America, a system almost analogous obtained its footing in the Northern provinces of Australia. It did not begin then, for the idea dates from a period before Queensland was a separate colony, and it was suggested by three considerations: First, the adaptability of the soil and climate of North Australia to the production of sugar and cotton; second, the scarcity of European labor; and lastly, the fancied unsuitability of the place to unacclimatized Anglo Saxons. So it was proposed to introduce Chinamen and Malays. But this failed, and ultimately an enterprising citizen of America hit upon the idea of kidnapping the natives of the South Sea Islands; and from that has sprung up a new traffic in human flesh, and a repetition of many of the atrocities which were once familiar upon this continent.

From its earliest days the Queensland Government has disgraced itself by a savage ill-treatment of the native races. It has made it a virtue to slaughter the aborigines and it has and does to this moment employ a selected few of these people, whom it calls the "Native Mounted Police," resisting countrymen wherever they can be found. Where murder is legalized there need be little wonder if Slavery becomes an institution, and so it is less a matter for surprise to find Queensland landholders quoting £7 or £10 as the liberal price they are ready to give for a healthy Polynesian, than it might have been if we merely remembered that it is a British Colony, and that these abominations are now being perpetrated under the British flag.

We have watched for some years the gradual growth of this system of traffic in human flesh which has been transferred to the other side of the Pacific, and we are not now disposed to ask ourselves how far the British Government has sanctioned the system, or whether it can be possible that the authorities in Downing street, have been all this time ignorant of the doings of British subjects in distant parts of the empire. A question of greater import arises. America has an interest, which every day grows larger, in the progress and welfare of the islands in the South Pacific Ocean; and as a nation which must ever be in the van of civilization, have we not also an interest in crushing any attempt which shall anywhere be made to renew Slavery? Here, then, is an opportunity to extend the influence of our flag, and to evince our sincerity in a cause of justice which is beyond the reach of cavil. The natives of the Pacific are a fine and intelligent race, as capable as the Japanese or the Chinese of being brought into close commercial relations; and America should be the last of the nations to stand idly by while such people are being stolen away from their homes and demoralized for the brutal purposes of Australian Colonists.

An American expedition to these islands in the cause of peace and trade and science combined would be productive of rich fruits; but an American protest against Slavery in the shape of a frigate in the neighborhood of New Caledonia, with very decisive and distinct instructions, is the least duty we can afford to perform.

LOUISIANA—GEN. ROSSEAU'S REPORT—LETTER FROM MR. PACKARD.

MR. S. B. PACKARD, President of the Louisiana State Central Committee, has written the following letter, dated at New Orleans, Dec. 5th:

To the Public: The report of Major-Gen. Rousseau to Gen. Grant on the disturbances in this State contains so many evident untruths that justice to the Republican party requires that it should receive immediate notice. Major-Gen. Rousseau says:

"Until the receipt of reenforcements from Gen. Gillem the entire number of troops at my disposal in and around the City of New Orleans was only 163 men. After the receipt of the reenforcements from Mississippi, I had but 550 men available for service in the city."

It is a matter of public notoriety that previous to and during the disturbances in this city the regiment of Major-Gen. Mower was lying at Ship Island, within twelve hours' travel from New Orleans, and that Gen. Mower and the Republicans of this city were anxious to have it immediately ordered here. Gen. Rousseau refused to issue the order, on the pretence that because it was a colored regiment its presence would exasperate the people. The implication that the police force consisted only of "243 negroes and 130 white men, to take charge of the City of New Orleans," is also notoriously untrue, for at the same time referred to, viz., the 26th of October, there were actually 388 white, and 178 colored policemen on duty. The following statement is also untrue:

"The colored clubs habitually drilled; the white clubs did not, because with the majority of them drill was unnecessary."

The white clubs did generally drill, while the colored clubs not, because they were without arms, their leading colored men being generally ex-United States soldiers, and having been disarmed by "Democratic citizens" under the administration of Major-Gen. Rousseau of the United States army. And so is the statement that the General's course was or is approved by the six Republican gentlemen named among the "general approvals." One of those gentlemen wrote and proposed the very resolution strongly censuring the General's course, which was adopted by the Republican State Campaign Committee. The plain truth is, that the General's course during the late riots is strongly condemned by 999 in every 1,000 of the Republicans of Louisiana, although a very few may hesitate about freely expressing their opinions on the subject from motives of personal interest or policy. The General says:

"To watch and control, as far as possible, both sides, and to preserve the public peace without influencing in any way the result of the election was a task of no little difficulty and danger."

He would have exhibited more "freedom from political bias" and acted more as "became an officer of the United States Army" if he had approved or desired that Democrats as well as Republicans should abstain from voting, or if he had sustained the assailed as much as the assailing party, or if he had cared and talked less about the "difficulties and dangers" surrounding himself and his command. The General's political bias is illustrated by the fact that he allowed the assailed party to be generally disarmed by their assailants throughout the State, as in the Parish of St. Bernard, (to which he refers), where colored men killed but one white man and the whites killed more than thirty blacks, and where *the blacks were disarmed by the whites in the presence of United States soldiers, and left to the mercy of their excited and armed opponents.* In some of the other Parishes this condition of things may have occurred because he had not the power to prevent it, but I have yet to learn that he disapproved of it, or tried in any way to prevent it.

Let it be observed that *the General nowhere and in no instance in his report gives the number of Republicans killed in St. Bernard, or elsewhere.* Why is this, if he is so impartial? Gen. Rousseau says: "The disturbed condition of the public mind was brought about by no action of mine." Perhaps not; but it might have been prevented by prompt and proper action on his part. He evidently did not find it necessary to make a friendly visit to Republican clubs to advise them to preserve the peace, although he did make "personal request to some of the clubs (Democratic), whose names had been publicly associated with acts of violence, that they should aid in preserving, instead of assisting in violating, the peace of the city." Nevertheless, while the General has no word of rebuke for those whom his own report shows were the guilty parties, he makes a gratuitous attack on the Republican party and what he styles the "indiscreet and unwarrantable course pursued by other and unworthy members," apparently alluding to those Republicans who differed with him and with some of the gentlemen he has named about the propriety of advising Republicans not to vote. The report concludes with the surprising statements:

"It is but just to say that the great body of the people of New Orleans are law-abiding and entirely friendly to the government of the United States. * * * * * *

"Officers of the army generally, and my staff especially, always found their uniform ample protection against either violence or the slightest disrepect, and a simple request from them was sufficient to disperse large and excited crowds of people."

Indeed! Then it is very pertinent to ask why the City of New Orleans was for four days and nights in a state of anarchy, and under the control of armed Democratic mobs? Why were Republican residences and club-rooms sacked by these same mobs, and Republicans killed with impunity in the public streets? Why were these proceedings and rioters sustained by the whole Democratic press of this city? And last, but not least, where were Gen. Rousseau and his staff officers during all of this time? I hold it self-evident that if Gen. Rousseau had been "free from political bias," and had promptly ordered Gen. Mower and his regiment to this city, and had issued a proper order and "notice" (not "after quiet was restored") at the beginning of the troubles, our city would have escaped this deep disgrace. S. B. PACKARD,
President State Central Committee, Republican Party of Louisiana.

From the Philadelphia Morning Post.

BEFORE the Fortieth Congress ceases, we expect that it will it crown its labors by submitting an amendment to the Constitution forbidding State Legislatures to deny the right of suffrage because of race or color. Bills have been introduced in the House extending the suffrage, but an act of Congress is not sufficient, for what is passed by one party another may repeal. The principle of Impartial Suffrage should be incorporated in the Constitution itself, there to remain forever.

To leave this question to the States is to defer indefinitely its settlement. Harmonious action is not to be expected from them. Pennsylvania will not move before New York. The only way to obtain the general consent of the North to Impartial Suffrage is to submit it through Congress, to make it a strict party measure, and carry it through as an amendment to the Constitution. For this the country is ready.

In the next Congress the Democratic party will gain thirty-four members. This is one reason why during this session the amendment should be passed. There are others more important. The settlement of the suffrage question, as far as Congress is concerned, should be effected at once, that the new administration may have a fair and honest start. The Republican party is bound to give the colored man in the North the ballot, and we want the Fortieth Congress to lead the way.

THADDEUS STEVENS.

THE death of the HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, was announced in the House of Representatives on Thursday, and in the Senate on Friday last. Eulogies were pronounced in the House by Mr. Dickey, (Mr. Stevens' successor), Judge Kelly, Mr. Ashley, Fernando Wood, and others; in the Senate by Mr. Sumner, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Morrill and Mr. Buckalew.

JUDGE KELLEY spoke as follows:

EULOGY BY HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

MR. SPEAKER: THADDEUS STEVENS was one of the most practical of men, though his whole life was colored and influenced by av ision. Timid men, and those who were without faith, called him dogmatic and impracticable, and others spoke of him as a theorist, who, to gratify a malignant or vindictive spirit, urged extreme measures regardless of the rights, interests, or sentiments of those they were to affect. They knew but little of the man they judged. How thoroughly practical he was is attested by the fact that he earned, by teaching the rudimentary branches, the means to procure his collegiate training; that having settled in a community in which hereditary wealth was deemed a prerequisite to a respectable position at the bar, he made no concealment of his poverty, and taught school while preparing for practice of the legal profession and the acknowledged leadership of the bar of a large section of his adopted State; that he commanded the confidence of every judge before whom he appeared in his extended range of practice, and secured the affectionate regard of all his young professional brethren; by the frequency with which the people among whom he settled, whether of the York, the Adams, or the Lancaster district, required him, at whatever sacrifice of prejudice on their part or of pecuniary interest on his, to represent them in the Legislatures of the State and nation, and conventions summoned for the consideration of the gravest topics; and, above all, by the commanding influence he exercised in every deliberative assembly of which he was a member.

I heard a prominent member of the Thirty-Eighth Congress say of Mr. STEVENS: "Let him go in what direction he may, it is always to the extreme," implying waywardness and inconsistency, and, in so far, misjudging him. He never labored in adverse directions. He sometimes accepted and supported propositions which were in general accord with his views, but to which he could not yield unqualified assent. He did this, as he once said, "because Congress is composed of men, and not of angels." He was incapable of acting inconsistently upon measures involving general principles. Against this reproach he was almost divinely panoplied. He had in his boyhood dreamed of a republic broader, grander, and more beneficent than the republic of Plato or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More—a republic in which every citizen might know the chastening influence of the family relations and the joys of home, and pursue the secrets of science and the pleasures of literature; and believing, as he continued to do, in the progress of our race and the perfectability of our institutions, his public life was devoted to the realization of this, his boyhood's beautiful dream. When he dedicated himself to this work, in which he never faltered, the southern boundary of our country was near the thirty-first degree of latitude, and the course of the Mississippi defined its western limits; but he believed that the inspiring truths expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in our State and Federal Constitutions, would regenerate all the governments on the continent.

At the time of his birth the mouth of the Mississippi and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico were under the dominion of foreign potentates. He was, however, old enough to understand and remember the discussion that attended our first acquisition of territory—the Louisiana purchase—which extended from the Gulf along the west bank of the Mississippi to the Lake of the Woods; and though sometimes disapproving of the means by which they were gained, he welcomed each of the several acquisitions of territory by which our country has come to stretch from ocean to ocean, to have a longer and more valuable coast line on the Pacific than any other nation, and to encircle the Gulf from Cape Cable to the Rio Grande. Every successive acquisition confirmed his faith and nerved his purpose.

The theory of Mr. STEVENS's ideal republic awarded home and culture to each industrious citizen. With this generous theory slavery was incompatible, and he was, consequently, the sworn and unrelenting foe of that accursed institution. He did not wage war upon slavery because he envied the wealth and power of the master. He was wont to thank God for having blest his youth with poverty, and was ever ready to confront the haughty master because his great heart sympathized with the outraged and helpless slave.

The severance of the Union would have dispelled Mr. STEVENS's faith in the ultimate redemption of the laboring people of the world from the ignorance and ill-paid toil to which they have ever been subjected. The breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion seemed to rejuvenate him and inspire him with superhuman strength. He was always in his seat; and when sessions were so far protracted, as they sometimes were during the Thirty-Seventh, Thirty-eight, and Thirty-Ninth Congresses, that daylight came and dimmed the artificial light in this Hall, the old man's pungent witticisms would rouse many of the younger members from drowsiness and prostration. To maintain the Union he would have exhausted the country's resources in men and materials of war; and when the rebellion had been suppressed, would have eradicated its cause and rendered its recurrence impossible.

He did not propose confiscation as a punishment to those whose great crime merited it. He was incapable of a vindictive act. He regarded the system of land monopoly, which had prevailed in the South, as the essential support of slavery and he would obliterate it. He knew that the rebel leaders were conquered but not subdued, and, appreciating the power they derived from the ownership of the land on which the body of the people were to labor and live, he would deprive them of that power. He knew that the labor of the slave had given the land of the South its value, and he would reward the freedman by giving him a homestead as a slight return for the unrequited work he had done while a slave. He knew that the loyal soldier had saved the South to the Union and freedom, and he would invite him to dwell under his own vine in its midst, and by his counsels assist in its future government. He knew that a landed aristocracy and a landless class are alike dangerous in a republic, and by a single act of justice he would abolish both. Such were the humane considerations which prompted him to propose and support measures which the weak and time-serving denounced as harsh and vindictive.

The system of labor for wages, as it is exemplified in Great Britain and on the Continent, is as inconsistent with his ideal republic as slavery. Contemplating the ever-increasing volume of pauperism in the British Islands, the unnatural and excessive toil demanded from women in the coal mines of England and Belgium, and from the tender children of agricultural laborers in the fengangs of England, his emotions might have been expressed in the indignant exclamation of the Abbe de la Mennais, "But for labor at wages there is no name out of hell." That is not the freedom of which he had dreamed, which deprives childhood of its bouyancy, home of its charms, and supplants intelligent and sturdy youth by ignorance and premature decrepitude, or binds the families of laborious artisans to a given locality by their interest in the parish poor rates or such inadequate wages as precludes the possibility of saving a sum sufficient for their own transportation to better markets for their labor.

Mr. Stevens always believed that fidelity to Republican principles required Government to protect those, whose toil is the source of all prosperity, against the wrongs and woes endured by the laboring people of countries in which social distinctions are recognized by law, and ancient evils are regarded as vested rights; and with what steadiness and power he endeavored to protect the wages of the American workman, by the imposition of adequate duties on the productions of the under-paid laborers of Europe, every gentleman on this floor knows. But he was no foe to commerce. In the Republic his youthful imagination pictured, nature lent all her aids to the people. The fields gave forth rich harvests; the mines yielded their precious or useful stores; and each mountain stream, as it sped its way to the sea, lightened the burden of man by moving the machinery he guided without exhausting labor. The consumer and the producer were neighbors, the most perfect means of transportation facilitated exchanges of commodities, and the taxes imposed by middle men, and the many agents required by trade with distant nations, were saved to the producer.

Whether in the Legislature of Pennsylvania or the Congress of the United States, no project for the development of latent resources or improved transportation, that came within his conception of constitutional limits, ever failed for the want of his support. In view of our almost limitless range of climate and soil, and boundless and diversified agricultural and mineral resources, he regarded our country as sufficient not only for its present population, but for hundreds of millions of people in the enjoyment of every material comfort and the refinements of a better than Augustan age. Regarding our country as the refuge of all who could flee from the inequalities of other lands, and the intelligence of the people as essential to its perpetuity, he held it to be the primary duty of the State to insure the proficiency of every child in "orthography, reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic, which, by the experience of the world, are pronounced to be the rudimental branches of all knowledge." He would not consent to withhold the privileges of an elector from a man because he was illiterate, and thus punish him because the State had not done its duty by him in childhood; but he proposed that the Government should provide school-houses, teachers, and other appliances for the education of all children, and then further enact "that no father or guardian shall be permitted to vote at any election for any public officer, who shall not have caused at least one half of the number of his children or wards between the ages of five and fifteen years, or if he have but one, that one, to attend school during at least eight months within each of the years they are entitled to attend school.

To those who believe that the thing that has been is the thing that shall be forever, and that that youthful giant, the American Republic, shall never escape from the leading-strings in which he has consented to be held by those bed-ridden hags, the monarchies of Europe, these theories, doubtless, sound like the ravings of one bereft of reason. But those who know the attractive influence of power, and that the theater of our action is a virgin continent, with lakes, rivers, and coast lines capable of accommodating in our internal or domestic commerce a commercial marine far greater than that which now carries the commerce of the world, will regard them as the sure prophesy of the future that is before us. Mr. Stevens believed in the possibility of the commercial independence of the United States. He also knew that when that should be achieved, the people could bring their domestic relations into harmony with the fundamental ideas of their Republican Government. Wise men will not think of him as a visionary because he anticipated coming events and proposed beneficent changes before the public mind was ripe for their reception. A great truth bravely uttered is never inopportune. Nor do time and age blunt the aptness of such utterances; and the advanced propositions and fervid words with which Thaddeus Stevens so often stirred our blood and swayed our judgment, will shape the future of the country. When the age is riper, other lips will echo them with persuasive and conclusive force. Then the American people, instead of asking the little nationalities of Europe what they may do, will dictate the internal policy those nations must adopt on pain of seeing their most valuable citizens, allured by our happier condition, come to swell the power and grandeur of the great Republic. Then will his dream be fulfilled, and then will the world behold the fitting monument STEVENS.

MR. SUMNER said:

EULOGY BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

MR. PRESIDENT: The visitor, as he paces the corridor leading to the House of Commons, stops with reverence before the marble statues of the men who during two centuries of English history, adorned that famous chamber. There are twelve in all, each speaking to the memory as he spoke in life; beginning with the learned Selden and the patriot Hampden, with Falkland so sweet and loyal in character, Somers so great as a defender of constitutional liberty, and embracing in the Historic group the silver-tongued Murray, the two Pitts so splendid in mastery, Fox always first in debate, and that other orator whose speeches contribute to the wealth of English literature, Edmund Burke. In the lapse of time, as our history extends, similar monuments may illustrate the approach to our House of Representatives, arresting the reverence of the visitor. If our group is confined to those whose fame has been won in the House alone, it will be small; for members of the House are mostly birds of passage, only perching on their way to another place. Few remain so as to become identified with the House, or their service there is forgotten in the blaze of other service elsewhere, as was the case with Madison, Marshall, Clay, Webster, and Lincoln. It is not difficult to see who will find a place in this small company. There must be a statue of Josiah Quincy, whose series of eloquent speeches is the most complete of our history, before Webster pleaded for Greece, and also a statue of Joshua R. Giddings, whose faithful championship of freedom throughout a long and terrible conflict, make him one of the great names of our country. And there must be a statue of Thaddeus Stevens, who was, perhaps, the most remarkable character identified with the House, unless we except John Quincy Adams; but the fame of the latter is not that of a Representative alone, for he was already illustrious from various service before he entered the House. All of these hated Slavery and labored for its overthrow. On this account they were a mark for obloquy and were generally in the minority. Already compensation has begun. As the cause, which they upheld so bravely, is exalted, so is their fame. By the side of their far-sighted, far-reaching, and heroic efforts, how diminutive is all that was done by others at the time! How vile the spirit that raged against them!

Stevens was a child of New England, as were Quincy and Adams; but after completing his education, he found a home in Pennsylvania, which had already given birth to Giddings. If this great central State can claim one of these remarkable men by adoption only, it may claim the other by paternity. Their names are among its best glories. Two things Stevens did for his adopted State, by which he repaid largely all her hospitality and favor. He taught her to cherish education for the people, and he taught her respect for Human Rights. The latter lesson was slower learned than the former. In the prime of life, when his faculties were in their highest vigor, he became conspicuous for earnest effort, crowned by a most persuasive speech, whose echoes have not yet died away, for those common schools, which, more even than railroads, are the hand-maid of civilization, besides being the true support of Republican Government. His powerful word turned the scale, and a great cause was won. This same powerful word was given promptly and without hesitation to the vindication of human rights, suffering then from constant and most cruel outrage. Here he stood always like a pillar. Suffice it to say that he was one of the earliest of Abolitionists, accepting the name and bearing the reproach. Not a child in Pennsylvania conning a spelling-book beneath

the humble rafters of a village school, who does not owe him gratitude; not a citizen, rejoicing in that security which is found only in liberal institutions, founded on the equal rights of all, who is not his debtor. When he entered Congress it was as champion. His conclusions were already matured, and he saw his duty plain before him. The English poet foreshadows him when he pictures—

> "One in whom persuasion and belief
> Had ripened into faith and faith become
> A passionate conviction."

Slavery was wrong and he would not tolerate it. Slave-masters, brimming with slavery, were imperious and lawless. From him they learned to see themselves as others saw them. Strong in his cause and in the consciousness of power, he did not shrink from any encounter, and, when it was joined, he used not only argument and history, but all those other weapons by which a bad cause is exposed to scorn and contempt. Nobody said more in fewer words or gave to language a sharper bite. Speech was with him at times a cat-o'-nine-tails, and woe be to the victim on whom the terrible lash descended. Does any one doubt the justifiableness of such debate? Sarcasm, satire, and ridicule are not given in vain. They have an office to perform in the economies of life. They are faculties to be employed prudently in the support of truth and justice. A good cause is helped, if its enemies are driven back; and it cannot be doubted that the supporters of wrong and the procrastinators shrank often before the weapons he wielded. Soft words turn away wrath; but there is a time for strong words as for soft words. Did not the Saviour seize the thongs with which to drive the money-changers from the Temple? Our money-changers long ago planted themselves within our temple. Was it not right to lash them away? Such an exercise of power in a generous cause must not be confounded with that personality of debate which has its origin in nothing higher than jealousy or spite. In this sense Thaddeus Stevens was never personal. No mean thought controlled him. What he said was for his country and mankind. As the Rebellion assumed its gigantic proportions, he saw clearly that it could be smitten only through slavery, and when, after a bloody struggle, it was too tardily vanquished, he saw clearly that there could be no true peace except by founding the new governments on the equal rights of all. And this policy he urged with a lofty dogmatism, which was as beneficent as uncompromising. The Rebels had burned his property in Pennsylvania, and there were weaklings who attributed his conduct at the smart at his loss. How little they understood his nature! Injury provokes and sometimes excuses resentment. But it was not in him to allow private grief to influence his public conduct. The losses of the ironmaster were forgotten in the duties of the statesman. He asked nothing for himself. He did not ask his own rights except as the rights of man.

I know not if he could be called an orator. Perhaps, like Fox, he were better called a debater. And yet I doubt if words were ever delivered with more effect than when, broken with years and decay, he stood before the Senate, and in the name of the House of Representatives and of all the people of the United States impeached Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. Who can forget his steady, solemn utterance of this great arraignment? The words were few, but they will sound through the ages. The personal triumph in his position at that moment was merged in the historic grandeur of the occasion. For a long time, against opposition of all kinds, against misconceptions of the law and against apologies for transactions without apology, he had insisted on impeachment; and now this old man, tottering to your door, dragged the Chief Magistrate of the Republic to judgment. It was he who did this thing; and I should do poor justice to his life if on this occasion I failed to express my gratitude for this heroic deed. His merit is none the less because other influences prevailed in the end. His example will remain forever. In the House, which was the scene of his triumphs, I never heard him but once; but I cannot forget the noble eloquence of that brief speech. I was there by accident just as he rose. He did not speak more than ten minutes; but every sentence seemed an oration. With unhesitating plainness he arraigned Pennsylvania for her denial of equal rights to an oppressed race, and rising with the theme, declared that this State had not a republican government. I presume the speech will be found in *The Globe*. Nobody, who has considered with any care what constitutes a republican government, especially since the definition supplied by our Declaration of Independence, can doubt that he was right. His words will live as the testimony of great character on this important question. The last object of his life was the establishment of equal rights throughout the whole country by the recognition of the requirement of the Declaration of Independence.

I have before me two letters in which he records his convictions, which are, perhaps, more weighty because the result of most careful consideration, when age had furnished experience and tempered the judgment. "I have," says he, "long and with such ability as I could command, reflected upon the subject of the Declaration of Independence, and finally have come to the sincere conclusion that universal suffrage was one of the inalienable rights intended to be embraced in that instrument." It is difficult to see how there can be hesitation on this point, when the great title-deed expressly says that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. But this is not the only instance in which he was constrained by habits of that profession, which he practiced so successfully. A great Parliamentarian of France has said: "The more one is a lawyer, the less he is a Senator." *Plus on est avocat moins on est Senateur.* If Stevens reached his conclusion slowly, it was because he had not completely emancipated himself from that technical reasoning which is the boast of the lawyer rather than of the statesman. The pretension that the power to determine the "qualifications" of voters embraced the power to exclude for color, was that this same power to exclude for color was included in the asserted power of the States to make "regulations" for the elective franchise, seems at first to have deceived him; as if it was not insulting to the reason and shocking to the moral sense, to suppose that any unalterable physical condition, such as color of hair, eyes, or skin, could be a "qualification" and as if it was not equally offensive to suppose that under a power to determine "qualifications," or to make "regulations," a race could be disfranchised. Of course, this whole pretension is a technicality set up against human rights.

Nothing can be plainer than that a technicality may be employed in favor of human rights, but never against them. Stevens came to his conclusion at last, and rested in it firmly. It was his final aspiration to see it prevail. He had seen much for which he had striven embodied in the institutions of his country. He had seen Slavery abolished. He had seen the freedman lifted to equality of political rights, by act of Congress; he had seen the colored race throughout the whole land lifted to equality of civil rights by act of Congress. It only remained that he should see them throughout the whole land lifted to the same equality in political rights; and then, the promises of the Declaration of Independence would be all fulfilled. But he was called away before this final triumph. A great writer of antiquity a perpetual authority, tells us, that "the chief duty of friends is not to honor the departed by idle grief, but to remember their purposes and to carry out their mandates." These are the words of Tacitus. I venture to add that we shall best honor him whom we now celebrate if we adopt his aspiration, and strive for its fulfillment. It is as a defender of human rights that Thaddeus Stevens deserves our homage. Here he is supreme. On other questions he erred. On the finances his errors were signal. But history will forget these and other failings, as it bends with reverence before those exalted labors by which humanity has been advanced. Already he takes his place among illustrious names, which are the common property of mankind. I see him now, as I have so often seen him during life. His venerable form moves slowly and with uncertain steps; but the gathered strength of years is in his countenance and the light of victory on his path. Politician, calculator, time-server, stand aside! A hero-statesman passes to his reward.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1868.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

We have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for The Standard a life-like, beautifully finished, medium-sized photograph of Wendell Phillips, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward, post paid, a copy of Mr. Phillips' photograph, the retail price of which is $2.50.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Horticultural Hall, in Boston, on the 29th day of January next, commencing at 10 o'clock, and continuing through the day and evening. The speakers will soon be announced.

John T. Sargent, President.

Chas. K. Whipple, Secretary.

THE BOSTON FESTIVAL.

The Ladies Annual Subscription Festival in aid of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, Boston, on Thursday evening, January 28th. The call will appear in The Standard of next week.

CIVIL OFFICE TENURE.

We are wholly opposed to the repeal of the Civil Office Tenure Act. For what reasons Gen. Butler proposes it we cannot guess. But there are the strongest reasons for keeping it on the Statute Book.

The indirect results of any great event are often more valuable and important than its direct ones. Though this, of course, is not true of a Revolution which has abolished Chattel Slavery, still the indirect effects of this great change are marked and of great importance. The West will never again be to the South what Egypt was to Rome; its food furnisher. Freed from Slavery, and so from the weakness of having but two or three staple products, (cotton, sugar, and tobacco), the South will grow her own food—in time. She will soon be independent, to some extent, of Northern manufactures. These, with other social changes, will close up old business channels and open new.

The experience of the war has taught us some military lessons and many civil ones. Especially it has shown us that a President can never be impeached. Patronage, which we thought meant Custom-houses and Post-offices, is found to rule the Senate. Spite, bred of gossip, which was laughed at as a tea-table foible, is seen to poison even prairie and buckeye Senators. Nepotism is not monopolized at Rome. The Pine-tree State produces an article in that line fully equal to the Italian. While the hot purpose of the war was yet unchilled, we tried in vain to impeach the very tool of Jefferson Davis. This lesson has been dearly bought. Let us see we profit by it. The war has proved that Republics are strong against open enemies, marshalled under their own banners. It has proved also that we are weak, as children, against selfishness, and corruption masquerading in the disguise of "conscience" and "law."

What corruption effected for Johnson in enabling him safely to defy the Constitution; loving trust in Lincoln's "honesty" effected in his case. Hence the war has shown us that, in critical emergencies, *we have no Constitution*. The long list of precedents in this line, beginning with Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana and closing with Kansas, gets its climax in our war experience of Presidents. We will not say now that here are grave reasons for the abolition of the office. But we may say that all the curbs which grave public disgust with Johnson has enabled us to put on the Presidency should be retained as valuable checks, which once removed may never be possible again. It is not often that we have a Congress largely opposed to the Executive. It is rarer still to have an Executive of such unabashed and shameless corruption as to call forth a national rebuke emphatic enough to embolden Congress to go to the very extreme verge of its power for checking him. These two rare circumstances have combined, the last four years, to give us an immense gain in the direction of crippling Executive patronage. The Statute Book, as it stands now, will enable an honest Congress to make future Reverdy Johnsons and Pitt Fessendens impossible.

The sentimental mush of magnanimity has largely demoralized the National conscience. There is an instinctive sense of justice in the commonest nature which repudiates, as immoral, the policy that leaves Forrest and Davis at liberty on this continent. The man who has schooled himself into approving it has demoralized himself. Greeley and Beecher have done good things in years past. But all they have done has never lifted the Nation so much as their childish and immoral prattle about magnanimity has sunk it in moral sensibility and power. This war has educated the masses in justice. How much the escape of Johnson has corrupted political life, time will show. Congress is nearer to popular impression and control. Therefore all the Legislative has conquered from the Executive, during this epoch, is to be jealously kept, no need to fear we shall curb the Presidency too much. A power which could secure the confirmation of Rousseau and Reverdy Johnson has certainly strength enough. To know from what a regiment of rogues this law has saved us, ask the police list and the whiskey ring.

The tendency of all free States is to depress the Executive and enlarge the authority of the Legislative element. Progress in that direction seems almost synonymous with growth in liberty. The Civil Office Tenure Act is a large stride. Let it be carefully kept, and let us press further on in "that line if it takes the whole summer" of our National existence.

Wendell Phillips.

REVERDY JOHNSON.

When, shortly after the humiliating conclusion of the Impeachment trial, Republican Senators, including even Mr. Sumner, consented to add still more to the nation's shame, by voting for the confirmation of Reverdy Johnson as Minister to England, The Standard, we believe, was alone among American journals in opposing such confirmation. Cognizant of Mr. Johnson's tendencies as a Southerner, we warned Senators, and the country, of the additional humilation and disgrace which such an appointment would bring. We were in this, as in other instances, when subsequent events have only to speedily justified our admonitions, deemed extra critical and unreasonably fault-finding. He must have been a poor student of American politics, and of Southern character, however, who expected of Mr. Johnson with his life-long, pro-slavery record, and Southern birth, any other course of conduct, than that of fraternal fellowship with, and toadying to English rebel-sympathisers. Those who criticised us severely, a few months ago have since been compelled, for very shame's sake, to cry out for Johnson's speedy recall.

The English journals, including even those of the more liberal type, have been slow to inform their readers of the emphatic disapproval of Mr. Johnson's conduct on this side of the Atlantic. In view of his unanimous confirmation by a Republican Senate, whose true verdict, as an Impeachment Court, he had just contributed largely to thwart, this course on the part of English journals, at least for a time, could be more readily accounted for and excused.

This country is under great obligations to *The Tribune's* clear-sighted and able London correspondent, Mr. George W. Smalley, first, for so promptly and effectively exposing Mr. Johnson's rebel-hob-nobing, from the moment of his arrival in England, thus arresting public attention at once here to his shameful and humilating conduct; and secondly, for the part he has taken in acquainting the English public with the real state of feeling prevalent here concerning Johnson's course.

In addition to his very valuable *Tribune* correspondence upon the subject, Mr. Smalley has published two important letters in *The London News*. In a letter which appeared in *The London News* of December 1st, he comments upon Mr. Johnson's official dealings with Lord Stanley, shows English readers that whatever negotiations Mr. Johnson may enter into, with the approval of his namesake, the traitor of the White House, they are liable to be disavowed, and then says:

"You may shut your ears to it if you will but you will understand its meaning when Mr. Johnson's bargain is repudiated; when President Grant recalls him in disgrace; and when the questions he has meddled with have to be reopened by a new Minister representing a people justly exasperated by the attitude and declaration of Mr. Reverdy Johnson. Do you suppose American ship-owners mean to intrust their claims to the guest of the builder of the ship that destroyed their own? Or to put it in another way—if Sir Frederic Bruce, when Minister at Washington, had met Stevens, the Fenian Head-Center, at dinner, had asked to be introduced to him, and lavished expressions of friendship upon him, would you have tolerated it? Doubtless you despise Stevens as an individual. So do we despise Messrs. Roebuck and Laird; but they are representative men. They represent the classes which hated and sought to divide us; and no American with a spark of self-respect would have sought out those men, much less have solicited their good will, and publicly invoked their forgiveness, as did Mr. Reverdy Johnson."

Mr. Smalley then quotes from *The Tribune*, *The Evening Post*, *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald*, *The Cincinnati Gazette*, *The Chicago Tribune*, and other American journals, showing the almost unanimous disapproval of Mr. Johnson's course on this side of the water. He concludes the letter with the following:

"I fear I have proved my case only to well. Keenly as I resent the conduct of Mr. Reverdy Johnson, I sincerely wish that the course of events might make it possible for his representations of the feeling at home to become true. But I believe the first step toward making them true is to recognize the existence of a sentiment at this moment not friendly but embittered, and to make it clear how this has sprung into new life in the last few months. The first step toward settling a quarrel is to comprehend the cause of it. Whether you choose then to do anything toward settling it is for you to decide, not for me to suggest. If the old friends of America and England—among whom we are all grateful to you as one of the truest—wish to mend matters, I think they must now see that they cannot do it by flattering the man who has rekindled all this exasperation. Mr. Reverdy Johnson has ceased to be, in anything but the most official and technical sense the representative of the United States. He remains their Minister only during the dying hours of a degraded Administration, which hesitates to obey the popular demand for his recall. Identifying himself with the enemies of his country in England, he has so completely separated himself from all loyal men in America that every additional civility to him here—no matter from what quarter it may come—will be received as a fresh insult at home."

Instead of taking a fortnight's holiday recess, Congress should have improved the time thus wasted, to rearraign and depose Andrew Johnson from the White House. One result of such action would have been, with Wade installed as President, the return of Reverdy Johnson by the first steamer. So much integrity, good sense and courage, it was too much to expect of Representatives and Senators.

HON. J. WILLIS MENARD.

The Hon. J. Willis Menard of New Orleans, duly certified by Gov. Warmoth as having been elected a Representative to Congress from Louisiana, is now in Washington awaiting the action of the Committee on Elections, to decide whether he shall be allowed to take his seat. The point involved is not a question of color, but the validity of the election. We hope Mr. Menard will gain the seat to which we presume him to be fairly entitled. He is the first colored man elected to Congress and, as our readers have had opportunity to know, he is an intelligent, earnest Radical.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for December 26th, presents an engraved likeness of Mr. Menard, chronicles his election as an historical event, and prints the following interesting sketch of his career:

"The engraving on our front page illustrates a new and remarkable incident in the history of our nationality. On Monday, just before the opening of Congress, the Hon. John Willis Menard, elected representative from Louisiana, appeared on the floor of the House, and received the congratulations of his colleagues, and prominent members of his party. Mr. Menard was elected to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Mann, deceased, whose seat was contested; and as the question was undetermined, and is still before the Committee on Elections, the acceptance of the credentials of the present claimant must depend upon the decision in that case. Still, the fact that a man of African blood stands at the threshold of Congressional honors, with only a technical objection to his assumption of legislative functions, is one that marks a giant stride in the path of political progress planned by the Republican party.

"John Willis Menard is a native of Randolph County, Illinois, in which State he spent much of his life, on a farm. As there were no schools in that portion of the State, which he could attend, owing to prejudice against his color, his early chances for education were very unfavorable.

"After his eighteenth year, he went to the Northern part of the State, where he attended school as often as his circumstances would allow.

"In 1859 he went to Iberia College, in Ohio, at which place he received a very creditable education. At this period of his life he entered the emigration cause, and opened for himself a wide field for the development of his natural abilities, both as orator and writer.

"From his efficiency in the cause of emigration, the Hon. J. P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior under Mr. Lincoln, was induced, through the Reverend James Mitchell the Commissioner of Emigration, to appoint him to a clerkship in the department of Emigration. But prejudice against color was so intense in the department, that after a few months service he was forced to resign.

"Mr. Menard then went to British Honduras, and after exploring that country for several months, returned to the United States and made an able report of his observations in Honduras to President Lincoln, which was published.

"In 1865 he went to Louisiana, and opened an early attack on the disloyal element in that State. Mr. Menard, by his pen and voice, has contributed largely to the organization and success of the Republican party in Louisiana, and his election to Congress must be taken as a fit mark of esteem and appreciation on the part of his Republican friends. He has met with much opposition, and had he possessed less tact and perseverance, he would not have succeeded. He is in the prime of life, and has a great future before him."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The death of the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens was formally announced in both Houses of Congress this week. The eulogies pronounced by Mr. Sumner and Judge Kelley, which we present elsewhere, will be read with much interest.

The recognition of the claims of the women of the Departments at Washington to equal pay for equal work performed, though tardy, is highly important not only for those individually affected by it, but as a precedent for all women workers, until the prevailing inequality of wages shall be everywhere done away.

There ought also to be held a popular meeting to urge upon the people of Spain the importance of the immediate, unconditional abolition of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions. A meeting in this city, in addition to the recent action of the Senate, and of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to Spanish emancipation, together with the expressions from Victor Hugo, Garibaldi and others, would exert a timely, and an important influence.

The friends of Woman Suffrage in Missouri are prosecuting a vigorous campaign. As the St. Louis telegram dated Dec. 21st, says:

"The Woman's Suffrage Association of this city is actively engaged in getting signatures to memorials to Congress and to the S gislature praying for the privilege of voting. The memorial to Congress is signed by over two thousand persons, and will be forwarded to-day. The association holds its meetings weekly, and considerable public interest is manifested in the proceedings."

Mr. Sumner on Monday last presented in the Senate a petition from a mass meeting of the colored people of Norfolk, Va., asking Congress to strike out the word "white" from the Naturalization Laws. Mr Sumner has already introduced a bill to that effect. In presenting the Norfolk petition he remarked, that the naturalization laws were the only laws of the United States containing the word "white," and he hoped that his bill to strike it out from them would be promptly passed. Petitions in support of his bill should be at once forwarded from the colored people and others of this city. Mr. Sumner presented also the same day the memorials of the Universal Peace Union in behalf of the Indians.

It is announced from Washington that the Indian Peace Commission, which was to have assembled there this week, will not meet until early in January. In view of the present and increasing importance of the Indian question the meeting and recommendations of the Commission will be looked to with much interest. Indian speculators and greedy land monopolists have evidently a much stronger hold in the Senate than in the House. Committees of the Society of Friends, and all who would secure for the Indian recognition as a citizen, and immunity from the gross injustice and cruel outrages of which he has so long been a victim, should improve the present period to press his claims upon the favorable consideration of Congress and the people.

A public meeting, we are glad to learn, will soon be held in this city to express sympathy for the heroic, struggling Cretans. *The Evening Post* says:

"Early in January a public meeting is to be held in this city to give expression to the sentiments of our community in behalf of the Cretans. A correspondent, thoroughly informed in regard to the Turkish atrocities during the prolonged warfare in that island, writes:

"'The exciting accounts from the East will, I hope, only intensify the proposed demonstration in favor of the Cretans.

"'At this critical junction it is of paramount importance that unmistakable proofs should be given of the sympathies of Americans with Crete and Greece in the raging contest which has been put on foot by the Turks in the hope that they will be permitted to perpetrate the same outrages in Greece which disgraces their warfare in Crete.

"'American opinion has more prestige than ever before in Europe, and the clearly-expressed sympathies of the United States with Crete and Greece may contribute not a little to influence the policy of European powers.'"

PERSONAL.

The Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* announces the nominations in Worcester of Mrs. Edward Earle and Mrs. Z. Baker, as members of the School Committee. *The Spy* says: "The nominations of Mrs. Edward Earle in Ward 2, and Mrs. Z. Baker in Ward 8, for School Committee, are received with general favor. They are both sure of an election for the positions they are both so eminently qualified to fill."

Mr. Emerson, in his lecture on "Greatness," cites Count Gurowski for his sturdy independence of character. "Where is this bog?" asked he of somebody in Cambridge, when he was poor and in a strait for victuals and lodging; "I wish to dig in it; I, too, wish to earn some money." And on being remonstrated with that such work would degrade him, he replied, "I cannot be degraded, I am Gurowski!"

Mr. Phillips gave his lecture on "The Lost Arts" to an immense audience at Steinway Hall in this city on Tuesday evening last. Except Dickens' readings, and with Parepa in the oratorio concerts, we have never seen the hall so crowded. The lecture elicited heartiest expressions of approval, and was listened to with the closest attention. It was given under the auspices of the Mechanics' and Tradesmens' Society of this city.

John B. Gough will deliver his entertaining lecture "Peculiar People" before the same Society on Thursday evening January 7th.

The Hon. J. Lothrop Motley delivered the anniversary address before the New York Historical Society in the Academy of Music on Monday evening last. His theme was "Human Progress." The address was masterly in its comprehensiveness of thought, and in its eloquent presentation. It was a fresh laurel on a brow already richly laurelled. If our space permitted we should copy the entire address. When it appears revised and corrected, so much of it as related to American affairs we shall hope to be able to print. Though the evening was one of the most unpropitious of the season the audience completely filled the spacious Academy, and was such in quality as New York has not seen since the first years of the war. The tickets for admission were not for sale, but so great was the desire to obtain them, that an offer of one thousand dollars we hear, was made for fifty tickets.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY BLEBY.

Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas, Dec. 12th, 1868.

A. M. Powell, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* In this colony where whites and blacks are more nearly equal, numerically, than in the other British West India Colonies, there is impartial suffrage, so far as conplexion is concerned; and the people are engaged in a struggle to get rid of the costly, oppressive, incubus of a State Church. The Episcopal Church, called by misnomer "*The Church of England*," numbers in this colony less than 1,600 communicants, and the Presbyterian Church about 150. These are supported out of the public taxes, at a cost of more than 25,000 dollars per annum in gold. The Methodists and the Baptists number upwards of 7,000 communicants; and they are all compelled to contribute their full porportion to maintain the two endowed churches, and give the more wealthy class the luxury of a religion that costs them nothing; and then these Methodists and Baptists have to provide churches and ministers for themselves, at their own expense. All the inhabitants of the colony, who are not connected with any church, also pay, under compulsion, their full proportion of taxes to give the upper few religions advantages gratis; and more than one-eighth of the entire revenue of the colony is thus appropriated. Every person in the colony, great or small, contributes, under the pressure of an unjust law, about eighty five-cents per annum, for an ecclesiastical establishment to benefit a fragment of the population; which is about three and a half times as much as is levied, under the despotic rule of the French Emperor, for the ecclesiastical purposes of the great empire under his sway.

A majority of the people in the colony have resolved to rid themselves of this unjust burthen, by such constitutional means as are at their command; and a strong party in the popular branch of the Legislature sympathize with the people. In the early part of this year, the House of Assembly passed a disendowment bill, designed to throw the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches on their own support, after the death, or retirement, of the present incumbents of the respective livings. The bill was thrown out by the council. The Assembly then, by voting a long adjournment, compelled the Governor, very much against his will, to dissolve the House, and appeal to the constituencies on the question in dispute. Notwithstanding much bribery and intimidation, and the gross abuse of government influence, to obtain a contrary result, a strong liberal party was returned to the Legislature; and the rejected bill again passed by a triumphant majority in favor of disendowment. The Council then postponed the consideration of it to another session; and at present the question is in abeyance. But the measure will have to pass, as the non-conformists are resolved no longer to submit tamely to be taxed for supporting a church from which they derive no benefit. Mr. Lempriere, the colonial secretary has just been abruptly dismissed by the Colonial office, in London, on the complaint of the Liberal party here, for making himself offensively prominent in the elections, and using the Queen's name for purposes of intimidation.

Throughout all the British West Indies the same iniquitous system prevails, and the poor are heavily taxed to afford church advantages and religious instruction to the rich. This is one of the methods by which the emancipated classes have been plundered by the planting interest ever since the abolition of slavery. But here, and in Jamaica, circumstances indicate that the injustice is likely to be soon corrected; and the example will no doubt be followed throughout these Isles of the West. The disendowment of the Established Church in the West Indies, will be the removal of one of the greatest hindrances that has existed to the progress of the freed people in civilization and moral development, from the time they were delivered from their civil bondage.

I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours,

Henry Bleby.

THE RADICAL CLUB.

Boston, December 22nd, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The brightest sun of the season shone, and the balmiest airs prevailed, on the 21st of December, in honor of the meeting of the Radical Club under the hospitable roof of Mr. and Mrs. John T. Sargent in Chestnut street. Mrs. Howe was the essayist, and there was a brilliant gathering to hear her. David Wasson was there, and John Weiss, and Col. Higginson, and Alcott, hoary embodiment of cool, clear thought. Mr. Linton the celebrated engraver, John Dwight of the *Musical Journal*, Mrs. Severance, the beloved president of the New England Woman's Club, bonny Kate Field of the honest eyes and the piquant pen, Mrs. Cheney, Miss Peabody, and many others, distinguished in letters or art.

To this goodly company Mrs. Howe read a brilliant essay on the subject of Polarity. She commenced by speaking of polarity as applied to matter, in a manner not too abstruse for the savans who surrounded her, though it was too philosophical and scholarly to receive the injustice of being reported. The progress of polarity she found to give us the division of sex; and Sex was the subject on which she intended to write when she commenced the essay; but she found it, like all fundamental facts in nature, to be an idea with a history. In the pursuit of this history she encountered the master agency of Polarity, and found herself obliged to make that the primary idea, and consider sex as derived from it.

Men and women differ as much in their intellectual and moral as in their material aspects. The standard of mind for either, recognized by both, is unlike that of the other. She thinks an inequality of values does not exist, either in the *idea* or in the *fact* of the divided being, of which we term one member male and the other female. Things equally indispensable are economically equal; and equivalency rather than identity is the foundation of human equality.

The distinction of sex is the basis for two deparments of labor and obligation. The man is half, and the woman is half; but these halves are individual and operative. Men and woman are both entirely human. The best man is not better than the best woman—the worst man not worse than the worst woman. But the unlikeness of the two is patent. The best man and the best woman will show decided dissimilarity of feature. A new-born male infant will easily be distinguished by its cry—it cries from its lungs, while the female cries from the throat. The boy begins life with a demand, the girl with a complaint. But a nature of any grasp in either sex has in it the elements of both. A soulful sympathetic man has the woman in him; a reasoning, energetic woman has the man in her; for the *vir* must be in both in order that both should be fully human.

Special tendencies and talents belong to individuals and are inalienable. From indolent you may may become energetic; from thoughtless considerate; but you cannot destroy your polarity, your native centrality and circumferentiality without destroying yourself; for that is yourself.

Carrying on the idea of polarity, it made the difference between men of ideas and men of action, between the philosopher and the experimentalist. Regarding being as a circle, saints held the center, while sinners hurried round the circumference. For we *are* saints while we hold the strict limit of the ideal truth, and sinners when we depart from it, which in action we always do, none however, getting out of its infinite dominion.

After the reading of the essay was over, the conversation commenced. Mr. Alcott alluded to Mrs. Howe's idea of sin. Sin is swerving from the central sun—but is all action necessarily sinning? As to sex, he said how many women do not impress us as women, and how many men as men. In certain moments we are both man and woman. Still we must have men and women for variety. Each demands of the other something itself is not—each asks its secret of the other.

Mr. Weiss said that from the subject of sex we easily got to marriage, and saw in it the effort of the Divine mind to return to its original unity. Marriage is the culmination of life—the proof that God is in man and woman, "reconciling the world to himself." In the estate of marriage he recognized dissimilarity, not identity. He had seen a tombstone in New Hampshire, over a dead husband and wife, on which the inscription was "Their warfare is accomplished." But the warfare had been necessary. We should never talk wisely about marriage, or divorce, until we started from the notion of a dissimilarity whose result should be unity.

Mr. Wasson didn't want a man-woman or a woman-man. He didn't agree with Mr. Alcott about there being moments in which one hardly knew whether one was man or woman—the same elements might exist in the sexes but were always differently disposed.

Mr. Alcott thought Deity was the perfect symbol of marriage—*was* deity because married to itself.

Col. Higginson thought that up to a certain point ennobling a woman made her approach a man, and *vice versa*. A narrow man could not appreciate woman, nor a narrow woman, man—the more cultivated each is, the better they understand each other. Margaret Fuller said "we must have units before unions." We must be more fully developed ourselves before we can form a perfect marriage. We are being educated *towards* marriage; and not only one Heaven but several might be required to bring us up to the highest standard.

The conversation concluded with a lively discussion suggested by Mrs. Howe's remark concerning saints and sinners. Col. Higginson thought that the limitations of actual life prevented our sins, as well as hindered our virtues. Miss Peabody thought sin tangential—the perversion or extension of what was in itself good. Mr. Wasson confessed himself to belong to the congregation of the sinners; and Mr. Connor, as secretary, gave the assembled sinners a hint that it was time to go home to dinner.

L. C. M.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY.

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 21st, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The Connecticut Valley has been refreshed this Winter by lectures from Wendell Phillips—in this city on "The Times," and at Northampton on "Street Life in Europe."

The latter was delivered under the auspices of the young Men's Christian Association, an organization that would hardly admit to membership, certainly not to office, one indorsing Mr. Phillips' views on the reforms of the hour, yet it welcomes him to its platform for the profit it may bring to a depleted treasury, or from the outside pressure of the people for radical sentiments. There has most certainly been great progress of opinion on questions affecting the social and spiritual condition of man within the last dozen years, though it is quite probable that the conservatives would hardly admit it. Mr. Phillips has never had a more spontaneous greeting in this region than he has had this winter. His audiences have been large and attentive, and have even applauded his most radical utterances. Early in the rebellion he spoke at Northampton on the conduct of the war, sharply criticising President Lincoln for his seemingly hesitating and dilatory policy. That lecture excited less opposition than the one delivered in the same place after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln which called for the impeachment of Mr. Johnson—that in Mr. Phillips was "high treason" and his audiences were correspondingly small—the smallest he ever addressed in Northampton. This winter the large town hall was filled, and no speaker was more closely followed or an audience more completely electrified. The clergymen of the town were present and one who is the pastor of an intensely orthodox church and a leading one at that, remarked "I admire Mr. Phillips—not that I always agree with him, but I admire his manly independence." This comes from a D. D., one who represents that theological opinion which does not encourage and hardly permits freedom of thought. This is evidence of progress towards a more truly Christian creed—the right of private judgment.

Mr. Phillips prefaced his lecture at Northampton with a review of the lecture system, giving Horace Mann and George B. Emerson the credit for establishing it. They originated it for the means of educating the masses. It had far outgrown the bounds given it, and was now the instrument for advancing great moral reforms. Although his lecture was nominally "Street Life in Europe," it was so full of thought of the present and of our own country, that, like the deacon's professions of piety, and practice of worldliness, it was hard to tell when the one left off and the other began. He demanded more individuality and independence of thought and action. Perhaps, he said that we had no reason to expect it of the ministers, so long as they didn't own the pews. As for the editors, why they might as well shoot their subscribers with leaden bullets as with new ideas.

I am reminded of a criticism of Mr. Phillips' Northampton lecture and a little story which he could add to his fund of anecdotes, but fearing that he will be too modest to tell them, I will do it here. Every one who has had anything to do with the procuring of radical lectures within the last ten or twenty years, knows how bitterly the conservatives have opposed every movement to get radical lecturers and what great sticklers they have been for silence, hoping thereby to "cut off debate" on the great question of human slavery. There are a few left still—the original Jacobs in the conservative camp. One of them—a Northampton man, though he never voted a Republican ticket, managed to obtain government patronage during the war, thought Mr. Phillips' lecture "didn't amount to much—It was all twaddle—what we wanted was scientific lectures." Some years ago this admirer of science was married, and while receiving the congratulations of a friend stated that his wife was quite accomplished—she wrote for the magazines and spoke four languages—German, French, English and *American*.

H. M. B.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, December 20th, 1868.

Mr. Theodore Tilton is by this time pretty well used to criticism. Indeed he can well afford to disregard most of the complaints made about his lectures, speeches, writings, and editorial management, since they are most frequently made in a spiteful malignant spirit, and on grounds wherein the civilization and religion of the coming age will judge him to have been in the right, and his opponents in the wrong. But once in a while he makes a blunder; and he made one in his Fraternity lecture last week, in assuming that the portion of it relating to Prison Discipline, exposing such abuses in that department as exist in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, would suit equally well the latitude of Massachusetts. Correctly assuming that a prison should be a reformatory institution, he specified certain particulars in which there is utter disregard of the sorts of reform most plainly needed, and certain cruel and brutal forms of punishment, affirming that those evils existed in the Prisons of all the States in the Union.

A writer in one of our papers, (probably Mr. Gideon Haynes, the intelligent and humane Warden of our State Prison at Charlestown), says that Mr. Tilton nas much to learn upon this subject, and that he seems to have failed to inquire into the methods of prison dicipline now existing in New England. The forms of cruel and degrading punishment he mentions are not used in this region, certainly not in Massachusetts.

This writer gives in contrast to the statements of Mr. Tilton, some particulars in regard to the Massachusetts State Prison. Neither vermin nor malaria exist there, and in the last fourteen years but one case of fever has occurred. So far is it from being used for and adapted to punishment only, that the building was erected, in accordance with an act passed by the General Court in 1803, "for the reformation as well as punishment of offenders." In this institution education is not compulsory, but it is within the reach of all, and for the last twenty-five years every prisoner desirous of learning to read has had the opportunity to do so. School-books of every description are furnished to those who desire them. Industry increases the convict's chance for pardon, and voluntary over-work accumulates a fund which is paid him on quitting the prison. Physiological lectures as well as sermons are provided for the prisoners, and there is a circulating library, a Bible class and a church-organ for

their benefit. Good trades are taught to the convicts, the acquisition of which enables those who will, to live honestly after their discharge, and there is a State Agent who forms the acquaintance of each before his discharge, and accompanies him from the prison to help him in getting a situation in some honest and respectable place of employment. Lastly, the recommitments to this prison are far less in proportion than to those improved Irish prisons which Mr. Tilton praised.

Speaking of reformatory matters, the first of a series of free organ-concerts in the Music Hall was given by the city last week. The success of the band-music on the Common, one or two evenings a week during the summer season, in attracting large audiences, and keeping them quiet and interested, suggested the trial of the same class of recreation during the cold weather. Great numbers of poor people have been unable, hitherto, to hear or to see the great organ; so a concert of music on that instrument was experimentally given, and the programme, with a notice of free admission, was published in the newspapers. It was a complete success, in every way. Not only was the great hall crowded before the hour of performance, with an audience mainly composed of the very class of people for whom it was designed, but perfect quietness and good order, and a gratifying attention, reigned throughout. That colored people were scattered here and there, in all parts of the house, is a matter of course, for they appear in all sorts of gatherings in Boston except the ultra-fashionable churches and balls. But it was delightful to see the number of nicely dressed servant-girls, of young laboring-men, and of poor children, boys and girls, who eagerly seized this opportunity which the city gave them, and evidently enjoyed it. More than three thousand printed programmes were distributed, and policemen acted as ushers, to find seats for the later arrivals. Every seat and every standing-place were occupied. The stage was kept vacant until all else was filled, and then the young girls who were standing were beckoned up there to fill a long double row of chairs, leaving only a few vacant in the centre, which were afterwards filled by his Honor the Mayor, and those gentlemen of the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council who had arranged the festival.

The music selected was chiefly of a popular cast, and this portion was most applauded, as one would suppose. It was noticeable that the delicious Andante of Beethoven's fifth Symphony, the only specimen given of the highest order of music, received scarcely any applause, while the "Last Rose of Summer" was warmly encored. During the intermission, between the first and second parts, there was silence and quiet expectation instead of the buzz of a fashionable concert room.

The last piece on the programme was the hymn called "America," the United States version of "God Save the King," which the audience were requested to join in singing. As the management had judiciously provided a Professor of Music to step forward on the stage and give the time, the hymn was sung as well as could be expected, the organ and voices giving a grand volume of sound.

As this first experiment of a free Music Hall concert was so thoroughly successful, we may expect that it will be repeated weekly during the cold months. It is to be hoped, too, that future performances will be intrusted to one who has good taste as well as adequate mechanical skill in playing.

Death has just taken from us one of the best men of Boston, Mr. James Tolman. To no man in the city were more thoroughly and exactly applicable those words of Scripture which were read in his funeral service —"he that hath clean hands and a pure heart." He was admirable in every department, private and public. His heart and hand were with all good enterprises, and he was forward in projecting as well as in accomplishing them. Truly liberal in every sense, he was a free giver of thought and labor, time and money.

His benefactions bore a larger proportion to his means than those of most men even of the benevolent class. As a tradesman, he was honest not only to his customers but to his work-people. Hospitable to new ideas, and favoring freedom of thought, he was in no particular extravagant or fanatical. By his death the poor have lost a faithful friend, and the public a citizen of preeminently useful influence.

NORTH.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 21st, 1868.

THE INSTITUTE FOR COLORED YOUTH, of this city, continues to manifest its prosperity and efficiency, and to sustain its high reputation. Ebenezer D. Bassett is the Principal, and with him are associated several competent assistants, all of whom seem to have won a merited confidence for capacity in the discharge of their respective duties.

The sixteenth annual commencement of this institution took place on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week. The first day's exercises were given at the Institute building, Shippen street west of Ninth. They embraced examinations of classes in the High School and its preparatory departments. During the morning session, E. D. Bassett conducted the examination of classes in Geometry (Legendre,) Greek, and Latin (Ciceronis Orationes;) Fanny M. Jackson those in Algebra (Quadratics,) and Latin (Virgilii Æneis;) O. V. Catto in English Grammer and Algebra; M. J. Patterson and F. Campbell in Arithmetic; S. M. Douglass the History Lesson, and J. F. Needham the class in Mental Arithmetic. At the afternoon session E. D. Bassett examined the classes in Trigonometry, Latin (Cæsaris Bellum Gallicam,) and Greek; F. M. Jackson in Greek and Latin (Horatii Odæ;) O. V. Catto the class in Arithmetic; M. J. Patterson in Algebra; S. M. Douglass in Reading, and F. Campbell in English Grammar.

The pupils gave evidence of proficiency in their various studies, and acquitted themselves during the examination in a very creditable manner. They evinced aptitude and intelligence in the answering of questions, and some among them possessed a degree of ability and a measure of capacity that much excelled the average standard.

In the afternoon several prizes were distributed among the students. The Mathematical prizes were awarded to Eugene R. Belcher and Lucretia C. Miller; the Classical to Joseph T. Seth and Fanny V. Camp; the English to Andrew F. Hill and Narcissa George. To each of these the prize accorded was fifteen dollars. A. R. Johnson and Josephine Davis were the recipients of ten dollar prizes for diligence. The honorary prize of five dollars was bestowed upon each of the following—Joseph Esler, Julia Jones, William E. Augustus and Camilla Coleman. A large number of visitors were present on this interesting occasion.

The oratorical exercises of the Institute were given on Wednesday evening at Concert Hall. The attendance on this occasion quite filled the hall, notwithstanding the exceedingly stormy night. The large audience gave strict attention to the proceedings, frequently manifesting their appreciation and enjoyment. The manner in which the several participants in the exercises fulfilled their allotted tasks, justified the deep interest that was shown and the evident satisfaction that was experienced. The various essays and orations naturally suggested different degrees of merit, according to their discriminative grades of excellence, and throughout the performances there was much that commanded admiration. Many of the orations were delivered in a praiseworthy style, and the same term may be applied to a number of the essays, in regard to the matter as well as the reading. There were eleven orations by as many young men, and eight essays by that number of young women. There was also a dialogue by a class of girls, and one by a class of boys, belonging to the preparatory department, and a recitation by a class of girls.

The Principal of the Institute presented diplomas to the following named graduates:—Joseph T. Seth, Eugene R. Belcher, Fanny V. Camp, Albert R. Johnson, Charles W. Thomas, Julia A. Bruce, Lucretia C. Miller, George W. Potter and Wm. H. F. Armstead.

Several opportunities for entertainment were afforded our citizens last week. On Thursday evening Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, so well known among anti-slavery people, read her new poem "MOSES" at Concert Hall; on the evening following the distinguished Miss Clara Louise Kellogg, so widely famed as a superior and beautiful singer, gave a grand concert at the Academy of Music; and at the same place on Saturday evening Ole Bull, the renowned and unsurpassed violinist, charmed and delighted an audience by his wonderful genius and exquisite skill. To-night the celebrated John B. Gough is to deliver his lecture on "Curiosity," likewise at the Academy, to be followed in the same temple of attraction by the famous Petroleum V. Nasby, who will give his quaint lecture entitled "Cussed be Canaan" on Wednesday evening. The illustrious Post Master will have a competitor for public favor and attention on that evening in the person of the great showman, Phineas Taylor Barnum, who is advertised to deliver at Concert Hall his unique lecture on "The Art of Money-getting, or Success in Life." To crown the list of remarkable attractions for this week, we are to have a grand display of chickens and other fowls at Horticultural Hall. According to the advertisement it is to be a "National Poultry Exhibition," under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Poultry Society, and will last all the week. This rare opportunity to spend six nights with the chickens will no doubt be properly improved.

Indeed, shows and attractions of this character, including Mr. Nasby and Mr. Barnum, are seldom neglected. There is likewise Mr. Gough, who invariably draws a splendid audience, no matter when he appears or what may be the subject of his lecture. We all know that the public do not get from him the highest type of thought, or the expression of a superior culture, although his lectures have a worthy aim, and are imbued with an excellent moral tone. He responds to the popular taste, and largely satisfies the common demand. It will be a good sign of the times when people will be as eager to hear the best representatives of advanced thought and high culture, and when, in a measure, the present order of things will be reversed, so that the theatres, the circus, and all exhibitions on a similar plane, will experience a dearth of popularity, and the fullest, largest and most willing attendance will flow towards the noblest champions of progress and reform, and those enlightened teachers who address themselves to the most exalted qualities of the human mind. But that period gives no token of its approach.

W.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 22nd, 1868.

THE Congressional "boys" have gone to play again. They are very good at that, if nothing else. We may expect Washburne's influence to grow among the frolicsome and shiftless, he being the schoolmaster whose rule is "short lessons and long tow." What a curious compound is the member for Galena. An honest man doubtless—passably so at least, as Congressmen go. But he is possessed and ridden by the idea that everybody else does not even possess that qualification. So he is determined that everything shall bend to the one mania which rules him—for fear that there may be some acres of land obtained by speculators, or a job of similar character run through Congress. In pursuit of his really laudable purpose of preventing these jobs, Mr. Washburne goes raging about the Halls of Congress, crying aloud against any legislation whatever, except the passage of the bills he reports from the Committee of which he happens to be Chairman. It is lucky that this is the one on Appropriations—otherwise the member from Galena would make a raging effort to prevent action even on them. He never could persuade himself that appropriations were honest, however necessary, unless they passed through his own hands. I have granted honesty to this gentleman, but there are some who believe he is chiefly controlled by a desire for riding into favor on a popular issue. One thing is certain, and that is, there is no wisdom in his economy. A proof of this was seen in his illiberal action against and vote on the resolution offered by Mr. Jones of Kentucky, directing that women employed by the government should be paid the same as men, where they performed the same work. Mr. Washburne began to cry that this raised taxes and increased expenses, and there were found twenty-six others who voted with him against so obvious a measure of justice.

We have got a complaint in the House of Representatives which goes by the name of the "Washburne paralysis;" symptoms of which are a loud-mouthed denunciation of every kind of action except, of course, Mr. Washburne's bills, and those of a few of his "cronies" —a constant iteration of job or plunder, and a mysterious button-holing of members while trying to persuade them that the very best thing that could happen is to do nothing this session, repeal the law which provides that Congress shall meet on the 4th of March, and let Grant "run the machine" to suit himself. The disease is raging just now, but I find a natural reaction among some which seems to be spreading. They can't quite see it, after the experiences of the past few years and then there are a few clearer intellects that appreciate fully the duty of restraining, Executive power—already large enough to threaten the imperialization of the Republic.

It is a curious move this which is seeking to prevent any action by Congress, aims to repeal good laws passed to meet Andrew Johnson's case, but applicable to general needs, and wants to leave even reconstruction undirected to the chances of Gen. Grant's good management.

I have urged before, the view that our work as critical abolitionists and agitators is to hold Congress up to its work. Let us not relax that effort. It must be required to adopt and at once, the legislation necessary to ensure the success of our cause, and then if the new President fails, it cannot be because the work required was not properly indicated to him. Is Mr. Washburne working for a purpose understood by the head of the new administration, or is he so swayed by his economy and honesty fever so as to ignore what ought to and must be done.

We need the passage of Senator Pomeroy's bill requiring the Constitutional Convention of Georgia to meet again and so re-write their constitution that no one's rights shall be in danger. Then we can re-mould the legislation of that State and elect Senators who will truly represent the loyal sentiment.

The State Governments of the South be armed, so as to be able to enforce their authority and carry out the law. To do this their militia must be organized.

The organized sedition and assassination in Louisiana and Georgia, which resulted in the fraudulent election of Seymour and Blair electors, must be overthrown by the exclusion of their vote from the Electoral College.

Above all we must have the suffrage question settled in the fundamental law, so that there can be no issue henceforth and forever on the color question at least.

All these points can be settled and be well done, if Mr. Washburne and his followers will only turn in and help. It is the wisest policy, if they could but see it. If they believed in the right, they would.

ASMODEUS.

SOJOURNER TRUTH.

LETTER FROM AMY POST.

ROCHESTER, Dec. 18th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SOJOURNER TRUTH has again returned to Rochester after having spent over three months in Western and Central N. Y. and her hearty words of *gratitude*, for the kind and helping hands, extended to her everywhere, from friends she never met before, as well as her old and well tried friends, it would do them all good to hear. I wish I could name them all. From the accounts received from several persons, her meetings have mostly been large and deeply interesting, and with strong emphasis she expresses a desire to continue in her public labors, not for her own good, but for that of others both for this life and in the life to come.

Of her meeting at Peterboro, N. Y., Green Smith says: "The Sabbath was stormy and the snow deep; but in spite of the elements, Sojourner had an interested and attentive audience in the Free Church. She spoke well and truthfully. We shall not soon forget her touching, and at the same time extremely witty, rehearsals of her many experiences in different parts of the country. God bless her and give her health and strength to carry on the good work, to which she has given the most of her eighty-two years."

After the election—and the Presidential candidate (of whom we hope the best things), was elected; she concluded to rest a little. Therefore she repaired to the home (in all things beautiful), of Hon. Gerrit Smith, where she had been invited by himself and his excellent wife; and she found a *welcome* and *rest*, that were good and cheering to both body and mind. When she felt it time for her to proceed in her mission, and take leave of this blessed harbor, Mr. Smith handed her the following testimonial, which I think is worth too much to be kept in Sojourner's private portfolio:

PETERBORO, Dec. 12th, 1868.

MY DEAR SOJOURNER TRUTH:—I cannot let you go without telling you on paper how highly we have prized your visit to us. We have enjoyed your wit and your powers of description; and we have been instructed by your wisdom; and we have welcomed your religion.

I trust that this is not your last visit to Peterboro, and that the great good Father will spare you to come again to us. Wherever you shall go, there will, I doubt not, be good friends to receive you, to bless you, and to be blessed by you. I know that wherever you shall go you will be useful, for the hand and the heart that you carry with you are constantly doing good.

With much love to you from my dear wife and myself.

Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

As soon as Sojourner recovers from the lameness brought on by some long, cold rides, she intends holding some meetings in this city and vicinity. There is one farther testimony which I want to give concerning Sojourner Truth, for it has given me so much joy. All of her old friends know that she has been an inveterate smoker, she says from very early age; now she has laid it all aside, has not smoked once, in three months. I wish every smoker who reads this would take courage, and do likewise.

Very sincerely,

AMY POST.

THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ELLA DAVIS ROCKWOOD.

Delivered in a Workingmen's Meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, December 10th.

I AM glad to be here to-night; glad to be allowed to add my voice to yours. I thank you for the opportunity. This movement is the cry of labor for *justice*. Labor and capital are not *enemies* they are *partners*. The trouble is one partner takes *all* the *profits*. We band together now to claim our *half*. I say WE, because, a woman, I look forward to the time when *you* shall be as just to women, as you ask capital to be to *you*. Wages shall be not according to the *time* used, or the *rank* of the man employed, but exactly according to the value of the *work done*. If a woman *does* as much as a man, she shall be *paid* as much, and she shall have free chance to try to do all she is able to do. That's fair play. Don't pay a woman teacher $700, and a man teacher $1,900 for the same work—that's not fair play. I said one partner—Capital—takes all the profits. There is a trick about it. Currency, Banking and rate interest—a trick somewhere—but the result is so. It is like the Yankee's trade with the Dutchman. You remember the Yankee went in and ordered two dollars worth of cheese. The Dutchman weighed it out. The Yankee took it up, held it a moment and then said, "I think I'll not have this cheese, I'll change it for sugar." The sugar was weighed out, the cheese given back, and the Yankee moved off without paying. "Pay me for the sugar" screamed the Dutchman. "Why, I gave you the cheese for it," said the purchaser. "Well, pay me for my cheese then." "But I did not have the cheese, I gave it back to you." The Dutchman scratched his head and thought, and thought—"Well—dat ist so—all right—only don't you please trade at my store no more." Just so with labor—you can't tell exactly *how*, but the sugar goes and no money comes. Capital gets all the profits—I mean he gets the education, the comforts, the leisure, the wealth. We want our share of education, therefore we want more time—leisure for it. Hence eight hours shall be a working day; leaving eight hours for sleep, and eight for the *soul*. The capital of the country only earns four dollars a year on every hundred. But the capitalist demands seven dollars interest or eight, or ten. All over four dollars is stolen from Labor. We claim of Senates and Presidents that they find some way to straighten this out. If they'll give us eight hours leisure every day, we'll soon study up so as to help them do it. Give us eight hours a day and evening schools, close the grog-shop—open the library. Union is *strength*—*Grant* will attend to the Nation, while *Claflin* takes care of the State—meanwhile we will try our hands on the *city*.

If we stand resolutely *together* we can make any man Mayor we choose. Our candidate is right on the Temperance Question, that's No. 1. with me in city matters—that being safe we can now sink every other question and vote only for labor. Last November you might be Democrats or Republicans, this election be only *working men*. Last November great National questions were at stake—no one could be asked then to quit his party for this effort. But now the field is clear—we cannot harm any other cause—we are sure to help ours. We shall never triumph till we convince the community that we ought to. The first step toward that is proof that we really believe *these are our rights*. Every other class combines to defend itself, why should not we? Railroad men stand together and let nothing *decide* them. Hoosac Tunnell men hang together to cheat the State. Why should not we protect ourselves? One bank never eats another, only working men fight each other. We shall never succeed until we get our question discussed. The press will never discuss it, till we *threaten* their parties. We may not have educated pens to write editorials, but the *Journal* and *Transcript* will write them fast enough on the back of our ballots if we throw enough ballots to bring our candidate anywhere near the mayor's chair. Give Mr. May votes enough to bring him within a hundred feet of it, and next year both parties will nominate an eight hour man. Have an eight hour mayor of Boston three years running, and the *Atlantic Monthly* the year after will prove conclusively that the plan is exactly right and they always believed in it. It is wonderful how many converts success makes. There are many men who can understand no other logic. No cause ought to succeed until those who suffer from the unjustness show the world that they feel it. How shall working men show this? Only in combining to right themselves. We may not have over-much book-learning, but we know enough to feel where the shoe pinches. We have not as much wealth as the other side, but there are *more of us* and at the ballot-box it is *numbers* that decide. Forward then—education, leisure, comfort, and a fair division of profits lie all on the other side of the ballot-box. "Who would be free *themselves* must strike the blow. It is the ballot that executes the freeman's will, as the lightening does the will of God. Use it, and let Capital and labor be no longer rivals—make them *brothers*.

REMARKS BY MRS. ELIZABETH B. CHACE.

At the opening of the recent Woman's Rights Convention, at Providence, R. I.

This convention is called to consider the rightfulness and importance of extending the elective franchise to women. The call is numerously signed by persons of both sexes, and in behalf of the women, thus stepping out of the routine of our daily life, I feel justified in saying that it is in no spirit of mere selfishness, on the one hand, or of antagonism on the other, that we urge the consideration of this question. With both men and women, it is first, and above all, because of a sincere and well considered conviction, that to every human being belongs every human right. And second, because of what women suffer from disabilities which grow out of their political disfranchisement, we claim that the ballot, of which men so proudly boast that it is the rich birthright of every American citizen, shall be restored to women as her birth-right also.

But, we further believe that in the consequences, resulting from the denial of suffrage to woman, she does not suffer alone. As in the dark days of slavery, the master was more corrupted and brutalized by the unnatural system than the slave, so we believe that man, in his moral nature, is more injured than woman by this inequality.

It is a notorious fact that the places to which men resort for the enjoyment of their boasted privilege of American citizenship, are so corrupt that the most common argument against the presence of women at the polls, is that their purity and delicacy will be endangered by going there. What careful mother must not shudder to send her boy of twenty-one years where it is not considered safe for her to go with him.

We believe that this fact itself shows that woman is needed at the polls, and that her presence alone can make these places fit for both men and women.

And further still, we think that in the halls of legislation, her keener moral sense should be exerted. We know that throughout our State of Rhode Island, young men are sinking into the abyss of intemperance, because their mothers and sisters cannot vote to blot out the license law, which disgraces our statutes, and shames our civilization.

We trust, therefore, that the discussion in this meeting will lead thoughtful minds all over the State to consider whether the time has not come when the word *male* should be stricken from our constitution, and women be no longer classed with idiots and criminals.

LITERARY.

NO LOVE LOST, a poem by Mr. W. D. Howell, which appeared in the December number of *Putnam's Monthly*, has been issued in a tempting gift-book by the publishers of that Magazine, and presents a handsomely bound volume, with four illustrations. TOO TRUE; a story of to-day, by the same publisher, is also familiar to the readers of *Putnam's Monthly*. The name of the author is not yet announced. Messrs. Putnam & Son have also published SAINT AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, by an English visitor, which is a small book containing sketches of the history, objects of interest and advantages of Florida as a resort for health and recreation; with notes for Northern tourists on St. John Riverete.

The Hearth and Home is the title of a new weekly, the first number of which was issued last week by Messrs. Pettingill, Bates, &Co., 37 Park Row, Its editors are Donald G. Mitchell (Ik. Marvel) and Harriet Beecher Stowe, assisted by Mr. J. B. Lyman and Mrs. M. E. Dodge. Besides the articles from its able editorial staff, the first number contains original contributions from William Cullen Bryant, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Dr. J. V. C. Smith, J. T. Trowbridge, Dr. J. P. Thomson Grace Greenwood and other well known writers, with excellent illustrations by Thomas Nast and others. Designed mainly for rural circulation, it presents all the qualities, in its character as a journal, in the reputation of its editors, and the enterprise of its publishers, requisite great popular success.

GLEANINGS AMONG THE SHEAVES, by Rev. C. H. Spurgeon and published by Sheldon & Co., is an exquisitely bound little volume, containing brief extracts from Mr. Spurgeon's sermons. The same publishers have issued THE CHILD-WIFE, by Capt. Mayne Reid, and SPECTACLES FOR YOUNG EYES, by S. W. Lander. The latter is a child's book giving a glimpse of New York life.

RECEIVED.

MERRY'S MUSEUM for Boys and Girls. Illustrated. Vol. I. Cloth. 512 pp. Boston: H. B. Fuller.

SEARCH AFTER TRUTH. By George W. Egleston. 267 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

The Illustrated Annual Register of Rural Affairs for 1869. Edited by J. J. Thomas. Albany: Luther Tucker & Son.

THE APACHE COUNTRY; A tour through Arizona and Sonora. By J. Ross Browne. 535 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

WILD LIFE UNDER THE EQUATOR. By Paul du Chaillu. 231 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A THOUSAND MILES WALK ACROSS SOUTH AMERICA. By Nathaniel H. Bishop. 310 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

WORDS OF HOPE. 256 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

GLOVERSON AND HIS SILENT PARTNERS. By Ralph Keeler. 372 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The Sailor's Magazine and Seaman's Friend for December. New York: American Seaman's Friend Society.

Merry's Museum for December. Boston: H. B. Fuller.

Demorest's Illustrated Monthly and *Demorest's Young America* for January. 473 Broadway.

THE CHILD WIFE. By Capt. Mayne Reid. 402 pages. New York: Sheldon & Co.

SPECTACLES FOR YOUNG EYES. By S. W. Lander. 203 pages. New York: Sheldon & Co.

GLEANINGS AMONG THE SHEAVES. By Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. 223 pages. New York: Sheldon & Co.

THE RIGHTFUL HEIR. A Drama in five Acts. By the author of Richelieu. 61 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE GORDIAN KNOT. By Shirley Brooks. 168 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

SYDNE ADRIANCE; OR, TRYING THE WORLD. By Amanda M. Douglass.

CHARLIE BELL. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg. 325 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday. Boston: Fields Osgood & Co.

Blackwood's Magazine for Nov. New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

The London Quarterly Review for Oct. New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

The Aggressive Christian for Dec. T. M. C. Association, Troy N. Y.

American Stock Journal: N. P. Boyer, Parkersburg Pa.

Sixth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen. By J. W. Alvord, Supt. Schools, Bureau Refugees, and Abandoned Lands.

The Little Corporal for January. Chicago: Alfred L. Sewall, Publisher.

MARRIED.—At the residence of the bride's parents, on the 5th inst., by Hon. Morton Mc. Michael, Mayor, Henry Shreve of Alliance, Ohio, and Helen Garrison, daughter of Edwin H. and Sarah J. Coates of Philadelphia.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

A National Woman's Suffrage Convention will be held at Washington, D. C., on the 19th and 20th of January next.

All Societies composed of Women, and all Associations friendly to Women's Rights', are invited to send delegates. All friends of the cause are invited to attend and take part.

Contributions in aid of the work may be sent to Wm. Hutchinson, Treasurer, Box 50, City Post-Office, or to Dr. Daniel Breed, Communications may be addressed to Prof. J. K. H. Wilcox, Chairman Committee of Arrangements, Ebbitt House.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING,
WILLIAM HUTCHINSON,
LYDIA S. HALL,
JOHN H. CRANE,
MARY T. CORNER,
GEORGE F. NEEDHAM,
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EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION will be commemorated in Boston, Friday, January 1, by three meetings to be held morning, afternoon and evening in Tremont Temple. There will be addresses and music. Among the speakers in the morning will be Mr. Wm. Wells Brown, Rev. Rowland Connor, Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper, Rev. Wm. R. Alger, Rev. Leonard A. Grimes.

In the afternoon the speakers will be Rev. Justin D. Fulton, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Mr. Richard T. Greener, Mrs. F. E. W. Harper.

In the evening addresses will be delivered by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., Hon. Henry Wilson, Rev. Geo. H. Hepworth, Hon. Thomas Russell.

The meetings will be held under the auspices of "The National Association for the spread of Temperance among the Freed People of the South." The funds raised beyond the expenses will be appropriated in aid of the work of this Society.

Special Notices.

PREMIUMS

WE will send post-paid, to any one renewing a subscription for THE STANDARD and sending one new subscriber ($6); or remitting for two new subscribers ($6), a copy of ANNA E. DICKINSON'S new book, 301 pages, just issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, entitled "WHAT ANSWER?" As with her voice, so with her pen, Miss Dickinson pleads eloquently the cause of the still oppressed colored people. The story is one of thrilling interest, characterized by a noble purpose and high moral tone. It deserves, and will doubtless achieve, a wide circulation. Our premium offer puts it within easy reach of thousands.

WE continue to offer to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6); either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters," 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's Romance of the Republic, 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court, 498 pages—price $2.50.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO REFORM.

The Woman's Advocate will labor for the legal and political Equality of Woman.

It will also consider the questions of Woman's Work, Wages and Social Status. It will record the progress of the Cause abroad, and aim to be a faithful index of all important home Movements. A Literary Department will be maintained.

Eminent Writers will be regular Contributors, and articles (to be liberally compensated) are solicited from all friends of the Movement.

The Woman's Advocate, the first number of which will be ready by the first of January, 1869, will be issued thereafter every month; each number containing 48 pages, printed from new type on fine paper, and furnished to subscribers for Two Dollars a year, payable in advance. Single Copy, Twenty Cents. The postage will be Twelve Cents.

The January number will contain articles from Lucy Stone, Frances D. Gage, Miss Kate Field, C. C. Burleigh, W. J. Linton, Henry D. Blackwell, Frederick Douglass, Rev. J. W. Chadwick and other well-known writers.

All Communications to be addressed,

WILLIAM P. TOMLINSON, Publisher,
39 Nassau Street, New York.

[Subscriptions for *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* and *The Woman's Advocate* will be received, the two furnished for $4.00 per annum].

MR. EDWARD M. DAVIS, No. 333 Walnut street, Philadelphia, consents, for a time, to act as General Agent of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society; and to receive and forward, from Philadelphia and vicinity, subscriptions, and advertisements for THE STANDARD.

A USEFUL HOLIDAY PRESENT.

DURING the coming season, when thousands of people contemplate paying each other a compliment, and when numberless articles present themselves to our view, it becomes no easy matter to make a selection. Elegant books are well, in their way, and so are articles of jewelry; while works of art are often in excellent taste, to those who appreciate them; but few things, we venture to say, are more suitable, as a general thing, for a gift, where there is a female in the family, than a sewing machine. As a present from a husband to his wife, or from father to daughter, nothing, perhaps, could be a better token of affection; but what, we would ask, could be more appropriate, as a present, to a needy person, than such an article? With what thankfulness, for instance, would such an instrument be received by a poor needlewoman, as a vehicle by which she may easily gain a livelihood? The point of the gift settled, then it remains but to decide which machine to purchase and present; and, if the idea is to obtain a machine that performs, equally well, all kinds of sewing, from the heaviest material down to the finest and most delicate fabric, we have no hesitation in advising our readers to select the GROVER & BAKER. It has points of excellence posessed by none other. It makes the best stitch; its work is most durable; the operation is easily learned; and, beside all these advantages, it embroiders the most beautiful designs, with a regularity and beauty unattained by hand sewing—a quality possessed by no other machine. —*N. Y. Home Journal.* elt.

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"One of the few great works of the age."—*John G. Saxe, Albany Argus.*

The Country-House on the Rhine.

promises to be a master-piece of the author, and will derive additional interest from the fact that its theme is to be partly American. The publication will be begun in the number of *The Living Age* for Nov. 21st, and will be continued from week to week until completed.

THE LIVING AGE free to the end of the year.

To new subscribers, remitting their subscriptions for the year 1869, we will send *The Living Age* from the beginning of this Romance to the 1st of January next *free of charge.*

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Extracts from Notices.

From Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, May, 1867.

"Were I, in view of all the competitors that are now in the field, to choose, I should certainly choose *The Living Age.* . . . Nor is there, in any library tha I know of, so much instructive and entertaining reading in the same number of volumes.

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From the Philadelphia Press, 1868.

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Miscellaneous Department.

LINES ON A FLY LEAF.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

I NEED not ask thee, for my sake,
To read a book which well may make
Its way by native force of wit
Without my manual sign to it.
Its piquant writer needs from me
No gravely masculine guarantee,
And well might laugh her merriest laugh
At broken spears in her behalf;
Yet, spite of all the critics tell,
I frankly own I like her well.
It may be that she wields a pen
Too sharply nibbed for thick-skinned men;
That her keen arrows search and try
The armor-joints of dignity,
And, though alone for error meant,
Sing through the air irreverent.
I blame her not, the young athlete
Who plants her woman's tiny feet
And dares the chances of debate
Where bearded men might hesitate,
Who, deeply earnest, seeing well
The ludicrous and laughable,
Mingling in eloquent excess
Her anger and her tenderness,
And, chiding with a half-caress,
Strives, less for her own sex than ours,
With principalities and powers,
And points us upward to the clear
Sunned heights of her new atmosphere.

Heaven mend her faults!—I will not pause
To weigh and doubt and peck at flaws,
Or waste my pity when some fool
Provokes her measureless ridicule.
Strong-minded is she? Better so
Than dullness set for sale or show,
A household folly capped and belled
In fashion's dance of puppets held,
Or poor pretence of womanhood,
Whose formal, flavorless platitude
Is warranted from all offence
Of robust meaning's violence.
Give me the wine of thought whose bead
Sparkles along the page I read,
Electric words in which I find
The tonic of the northwest wind—
The wisdom which itself allies
To sweet and pure humanities,
Where scorn of meanness, hate of wrong,
Are underlaid by love as strong;
The genial play of mirth that lights
Grave themes of thought, as, when on nights
Of summer-time, the harmless blaze
Of thunderless heat-lightning plays,
And tree and hill-top resting dim
And doubtful on the sky's vague rim,
Touched by that soft and lambent gleam,
Start sharply outlined from their dream.

Talk not to me of woman's sphere,
Nor point with Scripture texts a sneer,
Nor wrong the manliest saint of all
By doubt, if he were, here, that Paul
Would own the heroines who have lent
Grace to truth's stern arbitrament,
Foregone the praise to woman sweet,
And cast their crowns at Duty's feet;
Like her, who by her strong Appeal
Made Fashion weep, and Mammon feel,
Who, earliest summoned to withstand
The color-madness of the land,
Counted her life-long losses gain,
And made her own her sister's pain;
Or her, who in her greenwood shade,
Heard the sharp call that Freedom made,
And, answering, struck from Sappho's lyre
Of love the Tyrtæan carmen's fire;
Or that young girl—Domremy's maid
Revived a nobler cause to aid—
Shaking from warning finger-tips
The doom of her apocalypse;
Or her, who world-wide entrance gave
To the log-cabin of the slave,
Made all his want and sorrow known,
And all earth's languages his own.

THE OLD WAY AND THE NEW.

FORMERLY the road to success in life was through patient plodding, early rising and economical living, and in following these the practice of morality became the habit of the man and the inheritance of his children. Now, however, the large fortunes that are so frequently and so rapidly made, are more often the results of quick perceptions, boldness and happy hits, reckless and unscrupulous speculation, than by the old-fashioned virtues that combine to make a healthful and noble character. The discipline, too, that used to be exercised in the training of young men for mercantile life is now nearly forgotten. Knowledge is indeed communicated but habits are rarely taught. Even in trades, where manual dexterity is needed, the apprenticeship of olden times has almost disappeared, often to the detriment of the work subsequently performed. The value of good habits, as aids to law and morality, cannot be too highly appreciated, and in much of the immorality that pervades the commercial world, we see the effects of the decline of the social force of habit, at a period when moral culture is not sufficiently advanced to take its place. The discipline of self-restraint once removed, the value of character is greatly diminished; and though freedom of action is promoted by the increased facilities of travel, and widening fields of enterprise, public opinion loses its influence to a great extent, from being less concentrated. Even our favorite and most useful doctrine, that all labor is worthy of pecuniary reward, much as it has accomplished in promoting industry and independence, is sometimes abused by the tendency to regard all other rewards but money valueless; and where moral culture fails to impart the purest motives, there is danger that the baser one, of money-getting, may be the only substitute. To a Frenchman, the dearest of all earthly possessions is said to be his honor, and should he lose that he is ruined. Though Americans also value the good opinion of their fellow-citizens, it is not by any means their ruling passion; and though a sense of responsibility to God, where it is really felt and acted upon, is so infinitely superior as to bear no comparison as to motive power, yet it is to be feared that a very large number of those who despise the Frenchman's sense of honor are themselves influenced by baser and more sordid motives.

In new countries like our own, wealth may for some time be a chief source of distinction. Birth is discarded, and learning becomes diffused, and success in life will depend greatly on the possession of that for which the majority are striving. But still much may be done to avert the evils of commercial corruption. Not a little may be accomplished by Government example. Temptations are too often thrown around the weak, and offices secured by bribery that should be rendered impossible. When services are fairly paid, and situations under Government are rendered independent, many good tendencies will be strengthened that are now crushed, and bad ones arrested that are now rewarded. The Government of every nation should be a school of order, integrity and economy, to which all may look for example as well as protection. But education, not only through instruction in morals by teacher or parent, but chiefly through the careful training and formation of habits in youth, and the example set by those whom the young will surely imitate, must ever be the main-spring of all reformation. And those who have really the welfare of the rising generation at heart should ever strive in all their walk through life to display a sincere abhorrence of all corrupt practices and of those who engage in them.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

MARGARET FULLER AT SCHOOL.

SITTING on the girl's benches, conspicuous among the school-girls of unlettered origin by that look which rarely fails to betray hereditary and congenital culture, was a young person very nearly of my own age. She came with the reputation of being "smart," as we should have called it, clever as we say now-a-days. This was Margaret Fuller, the only one among us who, like Jean Paul, like the Duke, like Bettina, has slipped the cable of the more distinctive name to which she was anchored, and floats on the waves of speech as Margaret. Her air to her schoolmates was marked by a certain stateliness and distance, as if she had other thoughts than theirs and was not of them. She was a great student and a great reader of what she used to call "naw-vels." I remember her so well as she appeared at school and later, that I regret that she had not been faithfully given to canvas or marble in the day of her best looks. None know her aspect who have not seen her living. Margaret, as I remember her at school and afterwards, was tall, fair complexioned, with a watery, aqua-marine lustre in her light eyes, which she used to make small, as one does who looks at the sunshine. A remarkable point about her was that long, flexile neck, arching and undulating in strange sinuous movements, which one who loved her would compare to those of the swan, and one who loved her not to those of the ophidian who tempted our common mother. Her talk was affluent, magisterial, *de haut en bas*, some would say euphuistic, but surpassing the talk of women in breadth and audacity. Her face kindled and reddened and dilated in every feature as she spoke, and, as I once saw her in a fine storm of indignation at the supposed ill-treatment of a relative, showed itself capable of something resembling what Milton calls the viragian aspect.

Little incidents bear telling when they recall anything of such a celebrity as Margaret. I remember being greatly awed once, in our school-days, with the maturity of one of her expressions. Some themes were brought home from school for examination by my father, among them one of hers. I took it up with a certain emulous interest (for I fancied at that day that I too had drawn a prize, say a five-dollar one, at least, in the great intellectual life-lottery) and read the first words:

"It is a trite remark," she began.

I stopped. Alas! I did not know what *trite* meant. How could I ever judge Margaret fairly after such a crushing discovery of her superiority? I doubt if I ever did; yet O, how pleasant it would have been, at about the age, say, of threescore and ten, to rake over these ashes for cinders with her—she in a snowy cap, and I in a decent peruke! —O. W. Holmes, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January.

YOUR MISSION.

If you cannot on the ocean
Sail among the swiftest fleet,
Rocking on the mighty billows,
Laughing at the storms you meet,
You can stand among the sailors
Anchored yet within the bay,
You can lend a hand to help them
As they launch their boats away.

If you are too weak to journey
Up the mountain steep and high,
You can stand within the valley
As the multitudes go by;
You can chant in happy measure
As they slowly pass along;
Tho' they may forget the singer,
They will not forget the song.

If you cannot in the conflict
Prove yourself a warrior true;
If, where fire and smoke are thickest,
There's no work for you to do;
Where the battle-field is silent,
You can go with gentle tread,
You can bear away the wounded,
You can cover up the dead.

If you cannot in the harvest
Garner up the richest sheaves,
Many a grain, both ripe and golden,
Which the careless reaper leaves,
You can glean among the briars
Growing rank against the wall,
And it may be that the shadows
Hide the heaviest wheat of all.

If you have not gold and silver
Ever ready at command,
If you cannot toward the needy
Reach an ever open hand,
You can visit the afflicted—
O'er the erring you can weep,
You can be a true disciple
Sitting at the Saviour's feet.

Do not then stand idly waiting
For some nobler work to do,
For your heavenly Father's glory,
Ever earnest, ever true;
Go and toil in any vineyard,
Work in patience and in prayer,
If you want a field of labor
You can find it anywhere.

HOW TO BE COMFORTABLE IN COLD WEATHER.

As winter now fairly commences his reign, we will give a few directions how to best endure the assaults of his principal attendant, the "cold." No rubber strips, no hot air, ventilating, base-burner furnace will defend us from his grasp. Nor must we think to expel him by huddling round the register or cowering over the coal stove. Keep away from the fire as much as possible. Those who breathe the close, furnace-heated air of their pleasant (?) apartments cannot for one instant conceive how much more brisk and happy they would be, nor how far more clear and vigorous their intellectual faculties if they endeavored to warm themselves by exercise in the open air, by a short, rapid walk in the clear, cold atmosphere, than by sitting in a heated room all the cold day and shivering and quivering if a door opens upon them; nor how lax and listless they are rendered by artificial heat. Abundance of exercise, free respiration in the open air, inhaling quantities of the bracing tonic-azone, and good food (without whiskey), is the great receipt for keeping comfortable in cold weather.

To one accustomed to out-door exercise the stifling air of an apartment is unbearable. He feels that he must throw open all the windows, else he will suffocate. But let him make known his desire, and stay in-doors inmates are horrified —petrified! What? open windows with the mercury at zero? the idea is shocking! Let us tell you, madam, "that if you will leave the room for ten minutes, and allow the pure air to circulate freely through it, you will complain no more of the heavy sensation in your head, or the severe neuralgic pains in your temples." Many persons think if a room is aired after breakfast it is enough—but we beg to differ from them, if the room is used constantly. In that case the windows should be opened while the family are in the dining room, and closed before they return. We deprecate draughts (unless in banks) as much as any one can, and are indebted to them for many aches and pains; but we are the champion of good fresh air, and shall always sing its praises. It is a gift from heaven, free to all, yet some of us seem little inclined to benefit by it, though it is as needful for our well-being as beefsteak or bread and butter.

In the houses of the poor, how fetid the air, what a horrible mingling of odors—tobacco, onion and cabbage combined; surely the smell of Cologne cannot attain to it. Yet the dwellers in that horrid atmosphere know not its terrors—know not how it bleaches their cheeks and steals the strength of bone and muscle. You nor I cannot teach them how desirable it is to open wide the doors and windows, even if the "cold" does enter, rather than to breathe the pestilential, fever-breeding air of their houses. Only a "board of health" has power to convince them of their error, and that only during a visitation. Their ignorance swells the bills of doctors and of mortality, and helps to fill the purses of the apothecaries and undertakers. But should it be permitted? Not ours the province to lecture more concerning it, we will *revenons à nos moutons* and continue to treat of the "cold."—*Correspondent, Springfield Republican.*

THE FAMOUS ASTRONOMICAL CLOCK.

THIS clock is in the Strasburg Cathedral. It was built in the cathedral, before its completion, in the year 1439, and was invented by Isaac Habrecht, a Jewish astrologer.

European clocks were first invented in the eleventh century, by the Saracens, and used principally for monasteries. They were very rude, simple affairs, and sometimes would only "go" when somebody pushed the pendulum, which was rather inconvenient than otherwise. So wise mathematicians tried to make improvements; and some succeeded, among whom was Isaac Habrecht, who in the fourteenth century invented the most wonderful clock in the world, and called it the "Clock of the Three Sages," because once in every hour the figures of the Three Kings of Orient came out from a niche in its side, and made a reverential bow before an image of the Virgin Mary, seated just above the dial-plate, on the front of the clock. It is built of dark wood, gilded and carved, and is sixty feet high. In shape it is somewhat similar to a church, with a tower on either side of the entrance; and these towers of the clock are encircled by spiral staircases, which are used when repairs are necessary. When Isaac Habrecht invented this wonderful clock, he meant it to run forever, always displaying to the good people of Strasburg the days of the month, place of the sun and moon, and other celestial phenomena; and while he lived it worked admirably; but when he had been dead awhile, the clock stopped; and as nobody else understood its machinery, it had quite a vacation. After awhile, however, the people of Strasburg took it in hand, and it was repaired and set going—only to stop again.

Thus it went on until Napoleon's time. Strasburg, originally a German town, was ceded to Louis XIV. in 1681. So the clock was French property, and Napoleon decided it must be brought to life again. Under the most skillful French and German machinists this repairing took place. It was eminently successful this time, and when completed was a great improvement on the old clock. It will now give not only the time of Strasburg, but every principal city in the world; also the day of the week and month, the course of the sun and planets, and all the eclipses of the sun and moon, in their regular order. In an alcove above the dial is an image of our Saviour; and every day at noon, figures of the twelve apostles march around it and bow, while the holy image, with uplifted hands, administers a silent blessing. A cock, on the highest point of the right-hand tower flaps his wings and crows three times; and when he stops, a beautiful chime of bells rings out familiar and very musical tunes. A figure of Time, in a niche on one side, strikes the quarter hours from twelve to one; and four figures—Childhood, Youth, Manhood, and Old Age—pass slowly before him. In a niche on the other side is an angel turning an hour-glass.

The clock is in the south transept of the cathedral. Persons travelling abroad usually take Strasburg on their route, to visit its cathedral, the spire of which is the highest in the world, being four hundred and sixty feet high, and to see its wonderful astronomical clock; and as Strasburg is but two hundred and fifty miles southwest of Paris, and on the direct route to Switzerland, I advise you, if ever you travel in France, to take this route, and visit the wonderful clock.—S. B. C. in *Our Boys and Girls.*

SMOKE IN WINTER.

THE sluggish smoke curls up from some deep dell,
The stiffened air exploring in the dawn,
And making slow acquaintance with the day,
Delaying now upon his heavenward course,
In wreathed loiterings dallying with itself,
With as uncertain purpose and slow deed
As its half-awakened master by the hearth,
Whose mind, still slumbering, and sluggish thoughts
Have not yet swept into the onward current
Of the new day; and now it streams afar,
The while the chopper goes with step direct,
And mind intent to wield the early axe.

First in the dusky dawn he sends abroad
His early scout, his emissary, smoke,
The earliest, latest pilgrim from his roof,
To feel the frosty air, inform the day,
And, while he crouches still beside the hearth,
Nor musters courage to unbar the door,
It has gone down the glen with the light wind,
And o'er the plain unfurled its venturous wreath,
Draped the tree-tops, loitered upon the hill,
And warmed the pinions of the early bird;
And now, perchance, high in the crispy air,
Has caught sight of the day o'er the earth's edge,
And greets its master's eye at his low door,
As some refulgent cloud in the upper sky.

THOREAU.

WHY AMERICANS HATE FARMING.

I THINK no one can read that splendid prose-poem, Guyot's Earth and Man, wherein he characterizes the position and products of the American continents, without feeling that they ought to be the food producers of the world. They are the seat, he says, of excessive vegitable, as the continents of the Eastern hemisphere are of the noblest animal, development. Let us, then, rather set ourselves to carry out the grand design of Nature than to go against it. I am tired of the stories about Western farmers burning their corn. Let the dry-goods clerks be set to work on the railroads and canals to bring it to the sea-board, then. With butter at sixty cents and beefsteak at forty cents a pound, and flour at eighteen dollars a barrel, as they are in Boston at this present writing (May, 1868), it is absurd to say that we are producing enough for home consumption and for exportation too. Many and many a poor family have given up butter and sugar and juicy meat within these last eight years. The fact that a paper dollar is but two-thirds of a gold dollar cannot account for provisions being two or three times their former price. No, the real trouble is that the American hates farming and loves trading, partly because he is physically undeveloped, and therefore physically lazy; partly because farming is lonely and stupid, and without any of the stimulus of human companionship to which his childhood at the district school accustoms him; partly because at that school he got no knowledge nor love of nature, but only the trading ideas instilled by six years of drill in the dollar-and-cent examples of the arithmetic; and last, though not least, because farming kills his wife, takes all the bloom, flesh, and vitality away from her at forty. Very often, even if she can afford one, she cannot get a servant; so that she is in truth, next to an Indian squaw, the greatest drudge on the American continent.—*Atlantic Monthly for January.*

SLEIGHING.

BY GEORGE S. BURLEIGH.

WITH never a plume of the wind set humming
The snow has come, and still is coming.
Yonder, and hither, and everywhere,
Its silent feet in the pathless air
Trip down, and around, and over the ground,
With a visible hush there is nothing glum in,
Nothing but beauty and peace profound.

Ho, now for fun! never wait for the sun!
The girls are dancing, the steeds are prancing,
The boys are glancing, and sigh for a run
In the glimmering, shimmering, hovering, covering,
Like flaky moonlight dropped on a lover in
Shadowy glens that a lover knows,
With their foliage clouds and moonbeam snows.

Now verily, merrily, cheerily go
Over, and under, and through the snow,
Willie, and Lillie, and Nellie, and Joe,
Black-eyed Nellie, and blue-eyed Willie,
Hazel-eyed Lillie, and berry of sloe
Twinkling under the brow of Joe,
With the mischief in him as big as a crow!

Ho, with a shout! we are out and away!
Tangling, mingling, jangling, jingling,
Laughing, chaffing, twingling, tingling;
Bells on the horses, and belles in the sleigh,
Merrily, cheerily measure the way,
Shouting up echoes with "Caw, caw!"
To frighten the crows from thicket and haw.

Shuffle toes, muffle nose under the buffaloes!
Smothering, feathering, gathering snow,
Over and under, around and below,
Yet nobody cares but the whitening crow!
Fast through the dingle we follow the jingle,
And a fig for the fellows who dose by the ingle
When life goes leaping along the snow!

Our Boys and Girls.

A FEW MORE HAWTHORNE BUDS.

A SCOLD and a block-head—brimstone and wood —a good match.

Some moderns to build a fire on Ararat with the remnants of the ark.

What were the contents of the burden of Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress. He must have been taken for a pedler traveling with his pack.

After the siege of Antwerp, the children played marbles in the streets with grape and cannon shot.

A person to be the death of his beloved in trying to raise her to more than mortal perfection; yet this should be a comfort to him for having aimed so highly and holily.

Trifles to one are matters of life and death to another. As, for instance, a farmer desires a brisk breeze to winnow his grain; and mariners, to blow them out of the reach of pirates.

A fantastic figure of a village coxcomb, striding through the bar-room, and standing with folded arms to survey the caravan men. There is much exaggeration and rattle-brain about this fellow.

A fellow without money, having one hundred and seventy miles to go, fastened a chain and padlock to his legs and lay down to sleep in a field. He was apprehended, and carried gratis to a jail in the town wither he desired to go.

Fortune to come like a pedler with his goods, as wreaths of laurel, diamonds, crowns; selling them, but asking for them the sacrifice of health, of integrity, perhaps of life in the battle field, and of the real pleasures of existence. Who would buy, if the price were to be paid down?

Would it not be wiser for people to rejoice at all that they now sorrow for, and *vice versa?* To put on bridal garments at funerals, and mourning at weddings? For their friends to condole with them when they attained riches and honor, as only so much care added?

A description of the various classes of hotels and taverns and the prominent personages in each. There should be some story connected with it—as of a person commencing with boarding at a great hotel, and gradually, as his means grow less, descending in life, till he got below ground into a cellar.

A negro respectably dressed and well mounted on horseback, travelling on his own hook, calling for oats, and drinking a glass of brandy and water at the bar, like any other Christian. A young man from Wisconsin said: "I wish I had a thousand such fellows in Alabama." It made a strange impression on me—the negro was really so human!—and to talk of owning a thousand like him!

There is an old blind dog recognizing his friends by the sense of smell. I observe the eager awkwardness with which he accomplishes the recognition, his carefulness in descending steps, and generally in his locomotion. He evidently has not forgotten that he once had the faculty of sight; for he turns his eyes with earnestness towards those who attract his attention, though the orbs are plainly sightless.

A girl's lover to be slain and buried in her flower-garden, and the earth levelled over him. That particular spot, which she happens to plant with some peculiar variety of flowers, produces them of admirable splendor, beauty, and perfume; and she delights, with an indescribable impulse, to wear them in her bosom and scent her chamber with them. Thus the classic fantasy would be realized, of dead people transformed to flowers.

I have observed that butterflies—very broad winged and magnificent butterflies—frequently come on board of the salt-ship where I am at work. What have these bright strangers to do on Long wharf, where there are no flowers nor any green thing—nothing but brick storehouses, stone piers, black ships, and the bustle of toilsome men, who neither look up to the blue sky, nor take note of these wandering gems of the air? I cannot account for them unless they are the lovely fantasies of the mind.

Mother hinted an apprehension that poor baby would be spoilt, whereupon I irreverently observed that, having spoiled her own three children, it was natural for her to suppose that all other parents would do the same; when she averred that it was impossible to spoil such children as E——. and I, because she had never been able to do anything with us. . . I could hardly convince them that Uno had begun to smile so soon. It surprised my mother, though her own children appear to have been bright specimens of babyhood. E——. could walk and talk at nine months old. I do not understand that I was quite such a miracle of precocity, but should think it not impossible, inasmuch as precocious boys are said to make stupid men.—*Hawthorne's Note Books.*

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OF THE
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EDITED BY S. H. MORSE & J. B. MARVIN.
The general purpose and character of this work may be sufficiently indicated in its title. It is proper, however, to add the following statement: THE RADICAL furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions that interest earnest minds in every community. Not having to consult denominational or party interests, it can consistently enforce the lessons of intellectual freedom and self-dependence. Confiding more in the natural force of Ideas for the progress and melioration of society, than in the good offices of the best disposed institution; in the Divine Spirit of Liberty steadily burning in the soul of man, rather than in the wisest prescriptions of political or ecclesiastical art; we are ambitious, by the discussion of ideas and principles, to fortify individuals in their trust of Spiritual Laws, and in an unwavering reliance on the protections of heroic character. As occasion demands, we shall criticize public affairs, and consider the different reformatory movements of the present day.
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